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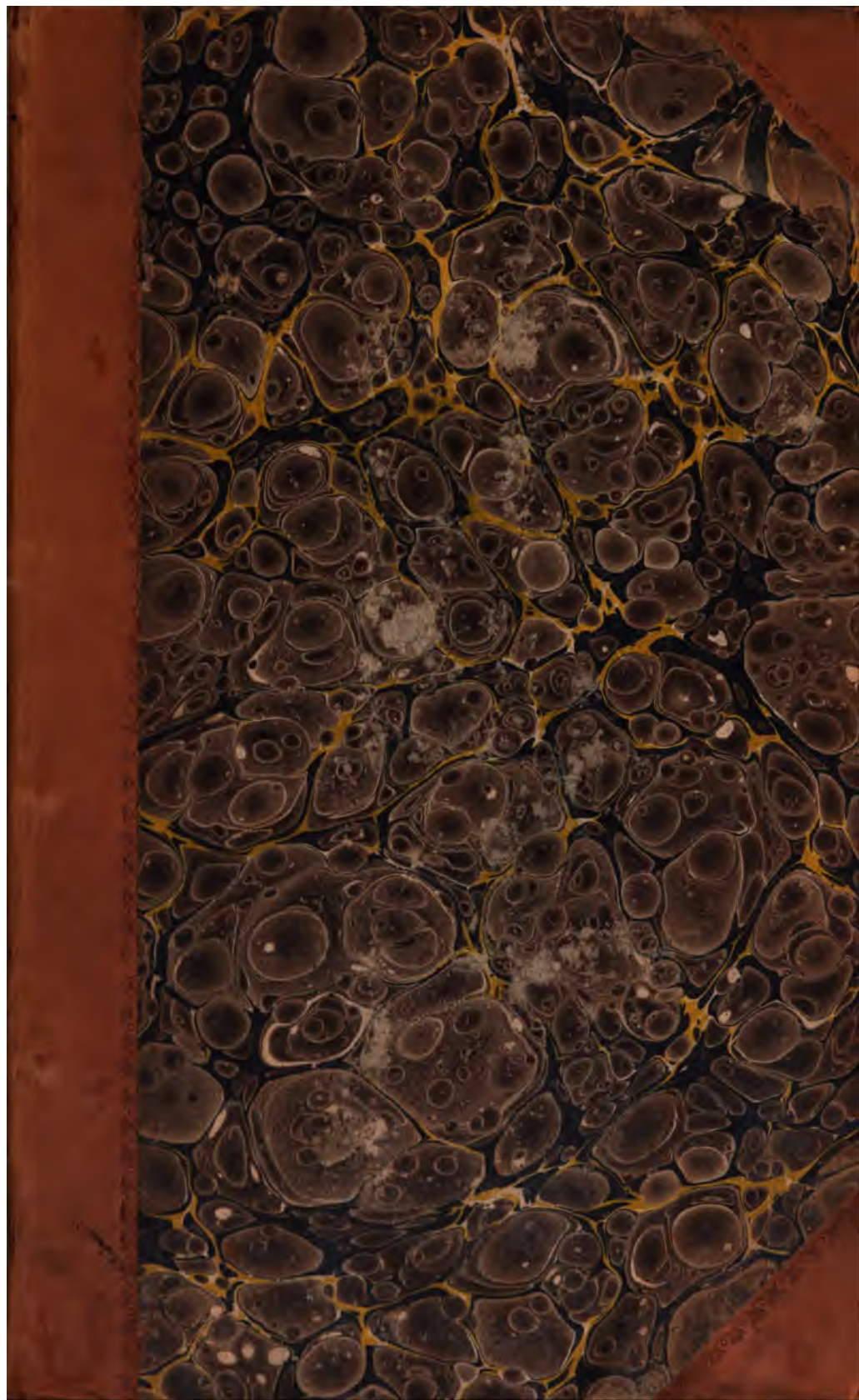
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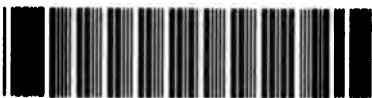
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A

REPLY

TO

DR. LINGARD'S VINDICATION

OF HIS

History of England,

AS FAR AS RESPECTS

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BY THE REV. H. J. TODD, M.A. &c.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
AND RECTOR OF SETTRINGTON, COUNTY OF YORK.

"Forasmuch as Archbishop Cranmer was a principal means of the Pope's expulsion, the Papists did hate him worse than a scorpion, heaping upon him whatsoever wit sharpened with malice could devise."

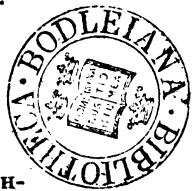
Mason, Vind. of the Church of Eng. 1613, p. 73.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the spring of the year 1825, I published a Vindication of Archbishop Cranmer against some of the allegations which had been made by the Rev. Dr. Lingard, the Rev. Dr. Milner, and Charles Butler, Esq. The Vindication contended more especially against the labours of the first of these gentlemen; because I considered him to have spoken, in his History of England, with unfairness of the Archbishop, and because in the popular form of National Memoirs the injury to his character was widely spreading. Others also thought that certain portions of this history, respecting distinguished facts or persons, were vulnerable; and therefore opposed the historian. In the winter of last year, Dr. Lin-

gard endeavoured to silence his opponents, and assigned to me the honour of a place among them, in "A Vindication of Certain Passages in his History of England." This has given rise to the following pages.

Dr. Lingard boasts of having "delineated the character of the Archbishop with fidelity." I do not hesitate to question the accuracy of this statement; resolved, on the authority of facts and indisputable documents, to rescue from disparagement THE FATHER OF OUR REFORMED CHURCH, and to guard the unsuspecting Protestant against the consummate artifice employed to depreciate the religion of his country. The importance of the subject must apologize for the length of this Reply to the Romish historian of England; and the reconsideration of those passages, which occasioned the gauntlet to be thrown down and accepted, will still be found, I trust, "to do right unto the memory of the truly great and good archbishop."

The fate of Cranmer, it has been justly observed by the present archbishop of Cashel, " has been peculiarly hard. Living in evil days, and exposed after his death to the malice of evil tongues, he has suffered in almost every part of his reputation. Papists have impeached the sincerity, while Protestants have doubted the steadiness, of his principles; and a too general idea seems to prevail, that his opinions were for ever fluctuating, or at least were so flexible, as to have rendered him little better than a weak instrument in the hands of those, who possessed more talent and more consistency. But the fact was far otherwise. *He was in truth the chief promoter and the ablest advocate of the Reformation, planning it with the discretion of a prudent and the zeal of a good man, and carrying it on towards perfection with a firmness, a wisdom, and a liberality, which obtained*

* Laurence's Bampton Lectures, Sermon I.

him no less credit for the endowments of his head, than for the impressions of his heart."

As a general answer to the observations of modern writers upon his life and labours, a new biography of the archbishop seems requisite; and it is my purpose to attempt it. The criminations of him by the writer of the life of Cardinal Pole, by ^b Dr. Mil-

^b Dr. Lingard observes, in a note, Vindic. p. 74. "I do not notice the strictures of Mr. Todd on Dr. Milner and Mr. Butler, which he frequently mixes up with his animadversions on my work. Of these two writers the first can make no defence; death has removed him from the petty quarrels, which agitate the inhabitants of this earth."

Dr. Milner was unable, I say it with confidence, to answer at least one grievous charge I brought against him. He lived many months after the accusation. He was silent, as I am sorry to add he was, upon other occasions, when the fidelity of his references and assertions was questioned.

"The latter, (Mr. Butler,) Dr. Lingard continues, though seventy-seven winters have passed over his head, still wields the pen with the energy of youth. He has replied, and as far as I can judge, most satisfactorily replied, to Mr. Todd, in his Letters to Charles Blundell, Esq."

That is, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church; in a second edition of which he has favoured me with additional observations, which first met my eye while

ner, Dr. Lingard, Mr. Butler, and other Romanists of minor name, may thus be concentrated ; and the system of aggression, which has been adopted against him, be overthrown.

the following pages were passing through the press. They are courteous, they are even complimentary, as the manner of Mr. Butler always is ; but they seem to require no separate answer, like the present to Dr. Lingard ; they contain indeed a considerable portion of animadversion similar to what the latter has bestowed upon me ; and there the reply to one is the reply to both. I might indeed, by a regular address to Mr. Butler, give further occasion to the exercise of his good opinion of me ; for as he acknowledges in the first edition of his Book, that he should not have said what he did say of bishop Taylor, if he had known what I produced upon the subject ; and as in his second, he thanks me for detecting an unjust reprehension of myself in the matter of bishop Gunning ; so now I should lead him, I think, at least as to one or two of his passages, ingenuously to grant that they might be withdrawn. That I should misrepresent him in the smallest degree, was certainly never my intention : but I notice this, because he is pleased to say, “ Mr. Todd cites *my* expression, *wickedly-treated* prelate, as the expression of Dr. Parr.” It is a satisfaction to find, that this venerable and entertaining writer is himself of opinion, that Cranmer was wickedly treated.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 6 line 8 from bottom, *read*, to understand or misunderstand my statement

— 42 — 8 from bottom, *read*, double perjured

— 135 — 10, the reference in the note to Bale's Yet a Course, &c. *should be to p. 119, instead of p. 120.*

REPLY TO DR. LINGARD'S VINDICATION, &c.

I. “ • *The first objection.*—The elevation of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury is thus described by Dr. Lingard. ‘ I know not why Burnet is so anxious to persuade his readers that Cranmer was unwilling to accept the archbishopric, and found means to delay the matter six months. There were few instances of the see of Canterbury being filled so soon after a vacancy. Six months, indeed, elapsed before his consecration; but that arose from the negotiation with Rome to procure his bulls. He must have given his consent at least three months before.’ *Lingard*, 2d ed. vol. vi. pp. 253, 254. “ Now,” proceeds Mr. Todd, “ ought not Dr. Lingard here to have given Cranmer’s own account of his declining the archbishopric? And is not Burnet right in believing the solemn asseveration of the primate, made in the presence of his enemies? *I protest before you all, said Cranmer, there never was a man came more unwilling to a bishopric than I did to that; inso-*

• Dr. Lingard’s Vindication, 2d edit. p. 72.

much that when king Henry did send for me in post that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time."

To the former part of the preceding extract, Dr. Lingard, in his *Vindication*, replies, that what he had said as to vacancies of the see of Canterbury, (which ^b appears to have been said to bring discredit upon Cranmer's own assertion,) "^c is stated too broadly. I should have excluded cases of translation. But Mr. Todd will pardon the inaccuracy, when he reflects that he has fallen into a similar error. He asserts that the predecessors of Cranmer, for more than a century at least, were not thus impeded; that is, took possession of their sees *within a shorter space than six months*; and forgets that Warham, his immediate predecessor, translated from London, did not succeed, till about a year after the death of Archbishop Dene."

I continue my assertion, and deny that I have here fallen into any error. Let the candid reader judge; and, at the same time, let him not fail to observe the endeavour of Dr. Lingard to throw dust into the reader's eyes.

Now, in order to evade the application to

^b See my *Vindic. of Cranmer*, 8vo. edit. p. xxxvii. 12mo. edit. p. 39.

^c Dr. Lingard's *Vindic.* ut *supr.*

Cranmer's case of the striking facts, that *within six months after a vacancy* ⁴ Islip, and Chichele, and Stafford, and Kemp, and Bourchier, and Dene, did fill the see of Canterbury, (from 1349 to 1501,) Dr. Lingard names a single archbishop who waited about a year for the complete possession of the primacy. But my object was to shew what Dr. Lingard unfairly concealed, and what every ingenuous inquirer after truth will admit that I have satisfactorily shewn, no novelty in this official part of Cranmer's elevation, no want of precedents as to the time in question. I could add earlier cases in point. But enough: the Romish historian of England is content to console himself in the present exposure with the gentle admission of his "*statement being too broad*," but overlooks his unfortunate apology for it, "*that he should have excluded cases of translation*;" that is, in order to allow *such cases* as exemplifying the short period of six months for possession of the see of Canterbury; for he introduces Warham, *whose case*, by his own shewing, *exhibits the very reverse of his exception*. So much for the puny aim to nullify what has been said for Cranmer as to this part of his story.

"1. Here I may be allowed to ask," Dr.

⁴ See my Vindic. of Cranmer, 8vo. edit. p. xxxviii. 12mo. edit. p. 40.

^{*} Dr. Lingard's Vindic. p. 73.

Lingard however says, " why Mr. Todd represents the passage, which he has quoted, as my description of Cranmer's elevation to the see of Canterbury. I have, indeed, described his elevation to the archbishopric in the two pages, 253, 254 ; but the passage in question is no part of that description. It is merely a portion of a note, subjoined to the text, for the purpose of pointing out the ingenuity of Burnet, who, to the time elapsed from Cranmer's receipt of the king's letter in Germany to his acceptance of the archbishopric, added the three months which intervened between that acceptance and his consecration."

Dr. Lingard here tells us that his *note* is for the purpose of pointing out Burnet's *ingenuity*, though he makes no allusion therein to ingenuity either in expression or sentiment ; while at the same time he professes, that *he knew not why* Burnet was so anxious in stating the delay before us. This is amusing enough. But let us hear Burnet himself : " ' Neither the delays of Cranmer's journey, nor his entreaties to be delivered from a burden which his humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the king. So that though six months elapsed before the thing was settled, yet the king persisted in his opinion, and the other was

forced to yield. In the end of January," Burnet continues, "the king sent to the pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion;" and the death of Warham in the preceding August, a period of only five months, is related^s just before. So that, in order to be *ingenious* in imposing upon his readers, the historian of our Reformation must have submitted to falsify himself *within the space of a few lines*, (if any one can believe him so absurd,) when he stated in a general way, that six months elapsed before the thing was settled; that is, before Cranmer was completely archbishop. He might, indeed, have said seven months. But, like Dr. Lingard himself, he has disregarded the ^h*minutiæ* of time in respect to this promotion. Still, however, Dr. Lingard's is "*a good note*" for his purpose, as it is now illustrated by a happy after-thought! "But Cranmer was 'preconized' in the consistory in January," Dr. Lingard observes, "(Becchetti, viii. 234.) and, of course, must have signified his consent at the latest in December." Be it so. There are then ^hfour months elapsed,

^s Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 127.

^h Six months only are described by Dr. Lingard, as having elapsed before the consecration of Cranmer. See before, p. 1. Seven certainly elapsed. Dr. Lingard errs in good company.

ⁱ Dr. Lingard's Vind. p. 73. n.

^h Dr. Lingard has allowed but three. See before p. 1. and the preceding note.

since the death of his predecessor, before he signified the requisite consent for proceedings in order to his elevation. This serves to strengthen his memorable assertion, "that he came *unwillingly* to the bishopric;" a point, which Dr. Lingard finds it convenient not to admit.

"2. If I rightly understand the reasoning of Mr. Todd," Dr. Lingard accordingly proceeds, "it follows, that because Cranmer said *that he came unwillingly to the bishopric*, he therefore declined it; and that, because *he prolonged his journey by seven weeks*, Burnet was right in saying that he delayed his consent for six months. By what argumentative process these two conclusions are deduced from the premises, I cannot comprehend."

Dr. Lingard, we see, struggles hard to depreciate, or to disprove, the unwillingness of Cranmer to be made archbishop. He is certainly at liberty to understand my statement, or reasoning, in any way he pleases. Burnet's words, accompanied with Cranmer's and his own, are^a before the reader.

Another ingenious effort, in the suggestion of two menacing questions, to invalidate the evidence of this unwillingness, now presents itself; and, after a sneer at the solemn asseveration of

¹ Dr. Lingard's *Vind.* p. 73.

^a See page 1. and p. 4.

Cranmer, Dr. Lingard dryly dismisses the subject with the plea, that he is not the biographer of the archbishop.

“ 3. But to proceed to the criminal omission with which I am charged,” Dr. Lingard says, “ I answer, that, if I had been writing the life of the archbishop, I should certainly have noticed this solemn asseveration, *as it is termed*, [that Cranmer came unwillingly to the bishopric;] but, at the same time, I should have thought it a duty to investigate two questions intimately connected with it; namely, whether more credit be due to the assertion of Cranmer in defence of himself before the commissioner, or to the contradictory assertion of Pole in his expostulatory letter to him; and then, whether his hesitation to return to England arose, as some pretend, from the moderation of his character which aspired not to ecclesiastical honours, or, as others maintain, from certain misgivings which taught him to fear the consequences of his late illegal marriage in Germany. But I was not his biographer; nor did I see the necessity of introducing into my pages the discussion of questions, which could throw no light on the general history of the times.”

The present questions, however, court discussion, in vindicating the character of him at

whom they point. When his name was first mentioned to the king, and he was desired to wait upon his majesty, instead of gladly seizing an opportunity so favourable to ambition, Cranmer * endeavoured to avoid the introduction. But he was bound to submit; and the introduction led him to the see of Canterbury. Yet this unassuming man, whom Dr. Lingard can behold only as “posting with dexterity” to his promotion, *tried all manner of ways by his friends*, when he was assured of the king’s intention, *that he might not be made archbishop*. Of this we are minutely informed by Fox, the contemporary of Cranmer; and, next, by the celebrated Archdeacon Mason, who, thirty years

* Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1861. col. i. “Dr. Cranmer was sent for; and being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottinghamshire, a post went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, (Fox and Gardiner,) that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither to be cumbered in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travailed in study; and therefore most earnestly intreated them, that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might be dispatched away ~~from~~ coming in the king’s presence. They promised, and took the matter upon them, so to do, if by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain. For the more they began to excuse Dr. Cranmer’s absence, the more the king chid with them for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence; so that, no excuse serving, he was fain ~~undelayedly~~ to come to the court unto the king.”

only after the martyrdom of the archbishop, was ^p fellow of Merton College, Oxford; who, doubtless, relates what then was well remembered, and who would have contradicted Fox if he had written falsely. That both therefore have given a true account of this reluctance, it is just to believe, because no contradiction of it has ever been proved. It has, indeed, been ^q in-

^p Elected in 1586. A. Wood, *Ath. Ox.* Wood says, and most truly, that this excellent person "is worthily styled *Vindex Ecclesie Anglicanae*." His Vindication of the Church of England concerning the Consecration and Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, was first published in English, in 1613. It was answered in English very feebly, and with a scoffing dedication to Abbot then archbishop of Canterbury, by Anthony Champney or Champneys, a Romish priest; and soon afterwards, (in 1618,) that his imagined victory over Mason might be spread over all Europe, in Latin. Mason immediately translated his own book into Latin, and augmented it; but died before he could print it. By the care of the warden of his college, and at the desire of the archbishop of Canterbury, it was, however, printed in 1625, and again in 1646. This enlarged edition of his admirable work has been translated and published with notes by the Rev. J. Lindsay, 1728. The exceptions of Champney and other Romanists are fully answered by Mason. This luminary of the Church of England was archdeacon of Norfolk, rector of Orford in Suffolk, and chaplain to king James I. The reference above is to his Latin edit. p. 153; to the translation, p. 132.

^q I copy the insinuation of Pole, from one of the most useful publications of the present time, compiled with great accuracy as well as research, and written with ease and perspicuity.

sinuated by Cardinal Pole and others, that Cranmer was made archbishop upon condition of annulling the marriage of his sovereign. Sanders also says, that to the cardinal himself the primacy had been first offered upon this condition, and had been refused; an assertion which is suppressed in the second edition of Sanders's book, published in the year following the first; for then the index which had triumphantly pointed to this refusal of the royal offer, and the studied words which had so exalted the cardinal, are no longer to be found. The

"Cardinal Pole insinuates pretty plainly, that Cranmer was made archbishop upon condition of annulling the king's marriage. 'Ecquis autem ignorat, te, ob hanc unam causam, archiepiscopum esse factum? Quis ambigat te, non per ostium, sed per fenestram, vel potius per cuniculos, tanquam furem et latronem intrasse?' Poli Ep. ad Tho. Cranm. inter MSS. Harl." Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 358. n. 1826. Champney says, as Sanders had instructed him, that Cranmer was promoted "eo nimirum consilio, ut si Papa sententiam divortii ferre nollet, iste saltem ex cathedrâ archiepiscopali illam pronunciaret." A. Champnæi, Angli, De Vocatione Min. Tract. 1618, p. 392. See the next note.

After noticing the death of archbishop Warham, the first edition of Sanders thus proceeds: "Rex, tanti honoris locum sibi perire nolens, omninò decrevit nemini eum præterquam tali viro dare, qui suæ libidini summis viribus obsequeretur. Nihil autem fuit in toto Angliæ regno cum *Reginaldo Polo* conferendum. Huic igitur primùm rex archiepiscopalem prærogativam obtulit, si tamen disertis verbis antè sponderet, se divortium regis omni studio provecturum. Quam turpem

slander in question was indeed revived, *in the way of conjecture*, by Martin, the commissioner, when Cranmer appeared before him as a prisoner. “ ‘ What,” said this illiberal commissioner, “ may we conjecture hereby, [the king’s sending for Cranmer from Germany,] but that there was a compact between you, being then queen Anne’s chaplain, and the king: Give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery.” The archbishop, with all the firmness of insulted veracity, replied: “ *You say not true.*” Cranmer, indeed, attained his dignity, as Fox truly relates the matter, “ ‘ not by flattery, not by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means.”

conditionem adjectam ubi *Pole* audivit, meritò recusavit in pestilentia cathedrâ sedere.” De Schism. Anglic. ed. 1585. fol. 59. Not a syllable of this offer to Pole, and of his refusal, is to be found in the edition of Sanders in 1586. But in p. 82 of this second edition, after the sentence “*Rex tanti, &c.*” to “*obsequeretur,*” as in the former, the narration proceeds to the falsehood of Cranmer’s introduction to the king by the earl of Wiltshire, and of his consent to what was required. This second edition, however, in a preceding part of the history presents us with Pole declining the sees of York and Winchester, about three years before, when vacant by the death of Walsey. The calumny, however, in the first edition, has been circulated by other writers, eager to build the credit of Pole upon the ruin of Cranmer’s. I consign it, therefore, to the reprobation of every honest reader.

• Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1876. col. 2.

• Ibid. p. 1862, col. i.

Now to the first of Dr. Lingard's questions, as intimately connected with the assertion of Cranmer's unwillingness; namely, "Whether more credit be due to the assertion of Cranmer himself, or to the contradictory assertion of Pole."

When we consider the behaviour of Pole to the archbishop, together with some parts of his character; and when we revert to the testimony, which has been produced, on the side of Cranmer; there will be no difficulty in deciding to which assertion credit is due. We have seen the cardinal, forgetful of the polished manners and liberality which have been ascribed to him, calumniating the archbishop on the acceptance of the see of Canterbury. We find him ^{*} im-

^{*} See before, p. 10. And the next note.

^{*} See Pole's own letter to the archbishop, Strype's *Life of Cranmer*. App. No. 89. "You bring forth a privy protestation, made with privy witnesses, &c." A shameless assertion, as Pole could have received (if he did not coin it) such report only from Cranmer's enemies. See also the App. to Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* vol. iii. No. 4. where a correspondent addresses the historian upon the words describing Cranmer's "*protestation, repeated when he took the oath to the pope* ; that is, publicly, and at his consecration," this correspondent observes; and he proceeds, "I know this has been said; but I wish it could be proved. I have *two letters* (MSS Latin) *of Cardinal Pole to Archbishop Cranmer, wherein he charges him with having done it only in a private manner, and brands his proceeding therein with such expressions as I am unwilling to transcribe.* I have likewise

puting to the prelate, what is not true, a *secret protest* against the papal authority. We find him addressing Cranmer, too, on the fall from his high estate, in another letter, which, it has been justly said, “does very little honour to his memory;” in which “he inveighs against the poor prisoner with some seeming tenderness, but with a great acrimony of style, and in an insulting manner, like one that knew *he might say what he pleased*.” We read of him, indeed, as a hypocrite, as one who could often stoop to scurrility, as well as defamation, and whose

seen a copy of this protestation, attested by public notaries; wherein it is said to have been made in St. Stephen's chapel; but nothing of its being *repeated at his consecration*. If your lordship has met with any thing to destroy these testimonies, I shall be very glad.”—Burnet made no reply to this correspondent and his remarks. These testimonies, it will presently be seen, are completely destroyed by the evidence of the proceedings against the archbishop. It is probable, that the abusive letter, which is noticed, may be a copy of that in the British Museum, from which the extract is taken in p. 10. or may be the letter itself now deposited there.

’ Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. iii. p. 175, ed. 1733.

’ See Jortin's Life of Erasmus, 1758, p. 384. And archbishop Parker's designation, “ficta et adumbrata Poli sanctitas,” Vit. Cranm. p. 511.

’ I need only refer to his volume *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*, of which Mr. Turner has given a very interesting analysis, and therein of Pole's delight in slanderous and coarse expressions, in his recent Hist. of Hen. VIII. pp. 620—624.

extreme virulence has occasioned him even to be thought "*not credible in any case.*" Certainly, in the case of Cranmer, his assertion is false and contemptible.

The second question, as connected with Cranmer's own assertion of unwillingness to be archbishop, is, "Whether his hesitation to return to England arose, as some pretend, from the moderation of his character which aspired not to ecclesiastical honours, or, as others maintain, from certain misgivings which taught him to fear the consequences of his late illegal marriage in Germany."

It is not certain that Cranmer was married, when the offer of the see of Canterbury was made to him. Dr. Lingard, in his History, cites from Godwin ^c two passages, which leave the time of the marriage in doubt; one of which mentions only the ^d intention of Cranmer towards

^b Turner's Hen. VIII. p. 624.

^c Hist. of Eng. 2d edit. vol. vi. p. 253. n. "There appears some doubt as to the time of his marriage. Godwin, in his Annals, says: *Uxore jamdudum orbatus, quam adolescens duxerat, puellæ cujusdam amore irretitus tenebatur (hæc erat neptis uxoris Osiandri) quam etiam sibi secundo connubio jungere omnimodis decreverat*, p. 49. *De Præsulibus Anglicanis*, he says: *Quod maximè angebat, conscientia fuit ductæ uxoris, (neptis ea fuit uxoris Osiandri.)* p. 198."

^d After several reasons are assigned for Cranmer's wishing

the object of his regard when the promotion was proposed to him, and afterwards the fulfilment of that intention. Cranmer perhaps determined a second time to prefer love to ambition, in being privately united, even after the splendid offer from England, to the niece of Osiander; and in thus affirming, with the divines of Germany, that the profession of celibacy was unnatural, and not obligatory. However, his reluctance to be made primate of all England, being at length in all respects overruled, still he remembered the absurd tenet not then relinquished in his own country, that he who had been * twice married should not be made even a priest, much less a bishop; and so at first might be perplexed with the apprehension of clamour being raised against him, because he had thus vindicated the liberty of every

to avoid the great offer made to him, the last is, that he had taken a liking to this niece of Osiander's wife, *whom he intended to make his second wife*. Godwin's Engl. edit. 1690, p. 121. Soon afterwards it is said, that he "privately married her at Nuremberg."

* This is evidently the reason of Godwin's saying, in the note given by Dr. Lingard, of Cranmer, "*Id verò quod maximè angebat, conscientia fuit uxoris ductæ;*" for it follows, "*cùm ne in sacros quidem ordines admitti conjugatum fas fuerit, multò minus archiepiscopum creari, idque præsertim postquam bigamus primæ alteram superduxisset uxorem.*" De Præs. ed. 1616, p. 198.

Christian. For, as Gilpin observes, “^f however liberal his own sentiments might be on the subject of the marriage, he knew the prejudices of the world ran strongly against him. I call them prejudices only, because I think, it does not appear, that the *secular* clergy, at that time, were absolutely required to take the vow of celibacy. Whether he urged his scruples to the king, who in a matrimonial business could not surely be a rigid casuist, does not appear. *It is certain, however, that the affair of his marriage was made easy to him.*” Possibly the words of Godwin, “^g that the king’s importunity prevailed with Cranmer beyond *all scrupulous difficulties*,” may have intended some reference to the marriage. Fox asserts, that Henry was “^h not ignorant” of Cranmer’s connection with the niece of Osian-der; and that he defended the prelate throughout his reign. That the danger of the royal proclamation, in 1538, against the marriage of priests, might also ⁱ not affect *him*, the penalty was limited, not to such as were then married, and kept their wives privately, but to such as kept them openly, and to such as should subsequently marry. Dr. Lingard is content to sug-

^f Life of Cranmer, p. 25.

^g Godwin, ut supr. p. 121.

^h Acts and Mon. p. 1870, col. i.

ⁱ Strype, Life of Cranmer, B. I. chap. xviii.

gest, that, “^k whether this marriage had ever come to the knowledge of Henry, or was considered by him invalid according to the canon law, is *uncertain*.” From the year 1534, however, when Cranmer privately sent for the lady, whom he had left in Germany, she lived with him, certainly, as his known, though not acknowledged, wife till the promulgation of the Six Articles in 1539. For when, in 1543, “^m the king asked him about his wife,” Cranmer answered, that (in submission to the bitter law) “he had sent her to Germany upon the passing of the Act against priests having wives.” Champney, one of the Romish revilers of the archbishop, converts these simple facts into an account of the wife coming from Germany with Cranmer, and of a ° ridiculous kind of

^k Hist. of Eng. 2d ed. vol. vi. p. 253.

^l Strype, ut supr. B. 1. ch. 3.

^m Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 328. ed. 1681.

ⁿ De Voc. Min. Tract. ut supr. p. 393.

° That she was carried about in a chest. The invention of Sanders, eagerly adopted too from him with grateful reference by the Jesuit Persons, who interweaves in the story, “such a good fellow was Cranmer, the first pillar of Protestant reformation in England,” (Warn-word, &c. 1602, fol. 37.) Ay, there’s the rub: *Protestant reformation in England*. Hence also, the ribald Ward, in his England’s reformation, has repeated it. Sir John Harington and Archdeacon Mason, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, duly noticed and refuted this absurd calumny. See Lindsay’s Transl. of Mason’s Vind. p. 136.

secrecy adopted, because the king, whom he greatly dreaded, enacted the punishment of married priests, ^p a year or two after the archbishop's elevation, in the Six Articles! There was nothing too absurd, too open to immediate refutation, which the Romanists of elder days did not invent against Cranmer, because he had dared to marry. They were incensed at his return to England, in despite of the *misgivings* which they had imputed to him on account of his marriage. They renewed their fury in their objections against him, when they had him in their power; to which the great, but fallen, prelate, with honest exultation, in referring to this marriage from the time of its celebration, gave replies, that put to shame the conduct of those, who then professed celibacy, and practised adultery. “^q It was objected against him, that, in the time of king Henry the eighth, he kept his wife secretly, and had children by her. *He answered, that this he granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.*”

“Item, in the time of king Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

^p “Post unum vel alterum annum, &c.” Champn. De Voc. ut supr. p. 393.

^q Foxe, Acts and Mon. p. 1877. col. 2.

He answered, he denied not that he so did, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

“ Item, that he shamed not openly to glory himself to have had his wife in secret many years. *He answered, and though he did so, there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.*”

The enemies of Cranmer, however, taunted him not, upon this occasion, with any *misgivings* he had entertained on account of this marriage; which gladly and insultingly, as their manner now was, they would have done, if there had been real grounds for such belief.

II. “ *Charge the second.* Mr. Todd, in the next place, selects the following passage. ‘ By what casuistry, could the archbishop elect, who was well acquainted with the services expected from him, reconcile it with his conscience to swear obedience to the pope, when he was already resolved to act in opposition to the papal authority? With the royal approbation, he called four witnesses into St. Stephen’s chapel at Westminster, and, in their presence, declared, that, by the oath of obedience to the pope, which, for the sake of form, he was obliged to take, he did not intend to bind himself to any thing contrary to the law of God, or prejudicial to the right of the king, or prohibitory of such

reforms as he might judge useful to the church of England.' Hist. vi. 254. On this passage, Mr. Todd comments, through the six following pages, for the purpose of shewing that the protestation was made openly and publicly, and was not a '*secret protest*,' as Dr. Lingard calls it.

"1. I am sure," Dr. Lingard continues, "that my reverend adversary has no intention to misrepresent: but neither the offensive words '*secret protest*,' nor any others of similar import, *are to be found in my pages*."

What will the reader think of Dr. Lingard and his history after this assertion, not made in haste, (for more than eighteen months elapsed before this answer was given to my vindication;) what will the reader think, I say, when I bring the historian before him, convicted *by his own pages* of untruth? "If the reader think," Dr. Lingard says, "that Henry must be now satisfied, let him recollect the *secret protest*, the theological legerdemain, by which Cranmer pretended to nullify the oath of obedience, which he was about to make to the pontiff."

I here leave Dr. Lingard to his own and to the consideration of every honourable mind; and proceed to notice his *opinion*, which, he says, "he ought to have stated, that the pro-

* Dr. Lingard's Hist. of Eng. 2d edit. vol. vi. p. 282.

† Vindic. p. 75.

testation was made in private, and that its purport was carefully concealed from the public. Otherwise, the news would quickly have reached Rome; the archbishop would have been suspended from the exercise of his office; and his judgment, in the great cause of the divorce, would have been liable to the same objection, as if he had, in the first instance, been consecrated without the papal approbation. The motives, which induced Henry to solicit that approbation, equally required *that the protest should be kept secret.*"

Thus, to the alleged *secrecy* of Cranmer's protest is ascribed extensive influence upon great national events. It cannot, therefore, be too minutely investigated.

First, then, the opinion of Dr. Lingard is not worth a straw. It is but the echo, indeed, of Phillips's "words in his *Life of Pole*, to which

"The oath of obedience to the see of Rome, is a rite observed on that occasion, (the consecration of a bishop;) and Cranmer retired into a private place, and entered a protest against the oath he was going to take, and then took it." Phillips, *Life of Pole*, sect. 10. Dr. Lingard here is somewhat shy of being associated with Phillips; and, by way of apology for being now found in agreement with him, amuses the reader with an account of "my lashing most unmercifully" (and impartial readers, I am persuaded, will say very justly) "the unfortunate biographer of Pole," and of "my imagination seeming to be haunted by his ghost." But, not forgetful of

Mr. Butler * also has given implicit credit. It is but the clamour, raised from this misleading writer, of many inferior Romanists against the archbishop, the king, and the country; denouncing the secrecy as a disgrace to the Protestant name and cause. But *the transaction was public*; and the publicity of it forms part of the charges against the archbishop, in the official proceedings of the papal commissioners at Oxford. But, before I copy this portion of the proceedings, it will be right to state the diversified objections which have been urged in contradiction to publicity; to shew how Dr. Lingard's "well-placed words," and Mr. Butler's "lawyerly mootings," the eloquence of the historian, and the acuteness of the jurist, have been wasted in their support of the calumny against Cranmer.

"Mr. Todd contends," Dr. Lingard accordingly observes, "that the protest was not a private transaction, because it contains the following words: 'in his scriptis *palam, publicè, et expressè* protestor.' But Mr. Butler has shewn that such is the usual language of these instru-

some obligations to Phillips, Dr. Lingard at last condescends to "remember the poor ghost" with the friendly application of a pun upon the name in "his days of nature." See the close of the note, Vindic. p. 75.

* Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, Lett. 14.

† Vindic. p. 76.

ments, though subscribed with the greatest privacy.”

Yes; and this is the usual language too of instruments subscribed, as Cranmer’s protest was, *with all requisite publicity*. Such are they which record the ^a appeal of archbishop Chichel , to a general council, from the sentence of the pope; and Adrian’s ^a oath of fidelity to Henry the seventh for the bishopric of Bath and Wells; and archbishop Warham’s ^b protestation against all acts passed in parliament to the prejudice of the church; in all which the words “*palam, public , et express *,” are in like manner found; words that evidently were used, as those of Cranmer were, to denote a solemn, open, and undisguised transaction. Mr. Butler, however, to substantiate the pretended privacy, suggests an evasion to have been practised, we see, which Cranmer disdained; and Dr. Lingard, with the happy talent of strengthening his positions by gratuitous ^c addition or substraction, presently introduces the archbishop a ^d second time, with *four* witnesses of this alleged evasion; when, in truth, there are five, before whom the

^a Burnet’s Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Rec. P. II. B. II. No. 35.

^a Ibid. vol. i. Rec. B. I. No. 1.

^b Ibid. vol. iii. Rec. P. III. B. V. No. 22.

^c Substraction in the present instance; addition in that of Cranmer’s retractions, as we shall presently see.

^d See before, p. 19. }

protest was publicly made, expressly named by 'Strype, in unison with the official proceedings.

"3. 'Mr. Todd tells us,' Dr. Lingard proceeds, of " 'the refutation of the clandestinity by Fuller,' and of 'the masterly vindication of the publicity by Neve and Ridley.' Now, what is this 'refutation by Fuller?' A mere assertion unsupported by authority, that the protestation was made thrice; once in the chapter-house, then before the consecration, and, lastly, at the reception of the pall! And what is 'the masterly vindication of Neve?' A repetition of that assertion, supported by the pretended authority of Fuller, who produces none himself, and of Fox and Strype, neither of whom mentions the renewal of the protestation! With Ridley's 'vindication' I am unacquainted: but of this I am sure, that if he had produced any additional testimony, it would not have been suppressed by Mr. Todd."

. Certainly I placed full reliance upon Fuller, and Neve, and Ridley. I considered both their assertions, and their reasoning, as irrefutable; I called to mind what Fox, and Mason, and Strype had offered in confirmation of their words, and I was content. The official account of the proceedings against Cranmer, which is

* Life of Cranmer, B. I. ch. 4.

' Vindic. p. 76.

subjoined to Strype's Life of him, published by the University of Oxford in 1812, with which ^s I dutifully supplied the learned press from the manuscript in the Lambeth Library, did not then occur to my mind as requisite to be consulted. I have now referred to it; and, with unspeakable delight, have found it to prove, beyond all question, the open conduct of the archbishop, as well as the veracity of those excellent men, whose words have hitherto been impugned by the scoffs and cavils of Romish opposition. Neve has said, that " ^a instruments were made, at Cranmer's request, recording his repeated protestations." Dr. Lingard here allows, that " ⁱ this, were it true, would set the question at rest. But where," he adds, " are those pretended instruments?" Dr. Lingard will hear of them, after I have stated all his arguments against the existence of them.

" 5. ^k Allow me then to ask," Dr. Lingard says, " where is the authority for these pretended iterations? There is none in the instrument itself. It professes to be made before Watkins, the king's prothonotary, not the con-

^s Being at that time keeper of the Lambeth manuscripts, and his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury having most liberally consented to the publication of these proceedings.

^a Animadversions upon Phillips's Life of Pole, p. 511.

ⁱ Vindic. p. 76. n.

^k Ibid. pp. 76, 77.

secrating bishops: *Coram vobis authentica persona*. There is none in the altercation between Cranmer and Martin, the commissioner. Though the repetition of the oath is distinctly mentioned, no hint is given by either that the protestation was made more than once. There is none in Fox, or Parker, or Godwin, or, as far as I can discover, in any writer within the next ¹ eighty years after the transaction. Strype informs us, that, 'having withal his said protestation, Cranmer, before the aforesaid witnesses, (those in whose presence he had made it in the chapter-house,) asserted, and protested, that he would read the schedule, and perform the oath therein contained under the said protestation, which, he said, he made the same

¹ Dr. Lingard here means Archdeacon Mason, "the first, he says, with whom he is acquainted, who mentions repeated protestations, (De Minist. Angl. 154.) but he produces no authority." Mason will be found, however, to have written correctly. Dr. Lingard here endeavours also to weaken the testimony of Archbishop Parker, by observing that "he speaks of only one protestation: he says, indeed, that it was made *in sacratione*; but it is plain that he means the protestation privately made in the chapter-house, as it was made *coram testibus fide dignis notariisque publicis*." Vindic. p. 77. n. But Archbishop Parker meant, undoubtedly, what was the fact, the protestation, to which all possible publicity was given, at the time of the consecration; which was officially attested, as the proceedings against the archbishop will presently convince us, "*coram testibus fide dignis notariisque publicis*."

day in the chapter-house before those witnesses, and no otherwise, nor in any other manner. And then presently after, kneeling on his knees, read the schedule containing the oath to the pope.' Where Strype learned these particulars, or whether they are true or not, we are unable to discover: but it is evident, that even, according to his narrative, the protestation was not repeated. *All that Cranmer did, was to say before the four witnesses, that he meant to take the oath in the sense of the protestation, which he had already made in their presence. Its purport was still kept secret."*

Such is Dr. Lingard's account, and such his confidence, delivered as precisely as if he had witnessed the ceremony; and evidently with contempt for the counter-statements of all, upon whose sound authority I maintained the publicity of the protest. We shall soon read the testimony of those who really were present at the transaction. But I must here notice Dr. Lingard's unjust treatment of Strype in the preceding extract, in pretending that the biographer admits the protestation to have been *not repeated*. If Dr. Lingard had condescended to look into the compilation of this learned person (B. iii. ch. 20.), he would have found him asserting, most correctly, that the protestation "was done in the most open and public manner that could be, *two or three times*

over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, that all might take notice of it." Nor may I yet part with Dr. Lingard's objections; for, in the last of them, his imaginary triumph leads him to a kind of "leering flout;" the retort upon which, however, will be only an exposure of a malicious charge without foundation, and the dispersion of "darkness" falsely deemed "impenetrable."

"6. " Even the jurist, Dr. Martin, the enemy of Cranmer, says Mr. Todd, is opposed to the secret protest. But where," Dr. Lingard asks, "is the proof?" He answers, with a sneer, "in the following dialogue.

"*Martin.* Did you not swear obedience to the see of Rome?

"*Cranmer.* Indeed, I did once swear unto the same.

"*Martin.* Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by *records and writings here ready to be shewn.*

"*Cranmer.* But I remember that I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best learned men I could get at that time.

"Mr. Todd occasionally soars," Dr. Lingard continues, "beyond the ken of ordinary understandings. Here he infers that Martin believed

the protest to have been public, because he said that Cranmer had twice sworn obedience to the see of Rome, as appeared by records and writings. How is this conclusion drawn? I know not. I can see the two extremes; but the chain which connects them together is lost in impenetrable darkness."

I can help Dr. Lingard through the obscurity to find his way, if he will more attentively observe the time and the occasion of Martin's dialogue with Cranmer. Martin was now, as one of the royal proctors, proceeding in the final examination of the archbishop before the representative of the pope. He was provided with all the documents and evidences, (*"the records and writings"* which have so amused Dr. Lingard,) that were to be produced against his prisoner. Among these were the oath and the accompanying protest, which, therefore, are embodied in the formal account of this process, transmitted to Cardinal de Puteo, the immediate delegate of the pope on this occasion, from Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, the acting sub-delegate in England. Hence it was that Martin reminded the archbishop of his *repeated* oath and protestation with reference to proofs, "*here ready to be shewn.*" Dr. Lingard may now, perhaps, incline a little to my inference respecting Martin; may welcome me as descending to the ken of ordinary understandings;

and finally with Mr. Butler (to whom, however, his thanks are due for the well-meant but useless exposition of *palam*, *publicè*, &c.), consent to 'give up the slander against the archbishop, which they have been so fond of maintaining in ' various shapes.—

“ Nulla fugam reperit fallacia.”

The last proceedings with Cranmer commenced on the ° twelfth of September, 1555. On that day he was cited into court, when the bishop of Gloucester first made an oration at the opening of the commission to try the archbishop. Dr. Martin was the next speaker. After his speech, he produced, against the prisoner, ^p articles respecting his marriage and his oath to the pope. Interrogatories were then put to him; among which, was the memorable one “ ^a concerning his being twice sworn to the pope,” when Dr. Martin “ shewed a copy of his protestation against the pope at his consecration, under a notary’s hand.” The interrogatories were closed with insults upon the answers of the archbishop; and the meeting

^a Compare the preceding arguments of Dr. Lingard, and Mr. Butler’s Mem. of the English, Scotch, and Irish Rom. Catholics, his Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, &c.

° MS. Processus, and Strype’s Life of Cranm. B. III. ch. xix.

^p Fox, and Strype.

^a Strype, Life of Cranm. B. III. ch. xix.

was adjourned. The next day, witnesses were introduced, and sworn to declare what they knew, or could remember, against him. The depositions of these persons, the articles before produced by Martin, and all the forms observed upon the occasion, are extant, as I have before said, in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. What concerns the point before us, is faithfully copied in the note ^r below.

(1.) Martin exhibited, first, the copy of the

^r MS. Processus. No. 1186. Lambeth MSS. It is written on thirty-six pages of parchment of a folio size, and is the official dispatch of the bishop of Gloucester to Rome, authenticated in the usual manner by notarial attestation. See the Catal. of Lambeth MSS. 1812. And the Pref. to the Oxford edit. of Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, in the same year, p. vi. Extracts, in confirmation of what is related in the text, now follow.

(1.) “Deinde prenomiatus Thomas Martyn, procurator antedictus, in subsidium probacionis contentorum in dictis articulis exhibuit quoddam instrumentum publicum manu propria Richardi Watkyns, notarii publici, ut apparuit, subscriptum, et ejus signo, ut apparuit, signatum, continens in se inter cetera tenorem juramenti fidelitatis obediencie per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum tempore ejus perfectionis, sive consecrationis, in archiepiscopum Cantuar’ beato Petro et sedi apostolice ac domino nostro pape Clementi, etc.

(2.) “Item ponit et articulatur, et, si negatum fuerit, probare intendit sepedictus procurator, quòd prefatus Thomas Cranmerus auctoritate sedis apostolice et domini nostri pape Cantuar’ archiepiscopus, ut prefertur, consecratus et prefectus, inter cetera tempore consecrationis sue hujusmodi paulove antea aut citra, fidelitatem et obedienciam beato Petro etc.

instruments attested by Watkins, the king's prothonotary.

saltem in effectu prestitit, et in ea parte juramentum ad sancta Dei evangelia subivit.

(3.) "In Dei nomine Amen. Per presentis publici instrumenti seriem cunctis appareat evidenter, et sit notum, quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, etc. mensis verò Marcii die tricesimo, in domo Capitulari Collegii sancti Stephani prothomartyris prope palacium Regium Westm. etc. constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas in Cantuar' Archiep' (ut dicebat) electus, in mea [*Watkins*] prothonotarii Regii ac notarii subscripti, ac venerabilium virorum magistri Johannis *Tregonwell* legum doctoris, et Thome *Bedyll* clerici à consiliis dicti domini nostri Regis, Richardi *Gwent* decretorum doctoris Curie Cantuar' officialis principalis, et Johannis *Cocks* legum doctoris etc. vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, testium in hac parte specialiter adhibitorum presentia, *protestationes quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit*, ac cetera fecit, prout in quadam papiri scedula, quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit, plenius continebatur. Cujus quidem scedule verus tenor (nil addito vel dempto) de verbo ad verbum sequitur, et talis est. 'In Dei nomine Amen. Coram Vobis,' etc. The protest as it is given by Strype and Collier from the archbishop's Register, and recently by Mr. Townsend in his Accusations of History against the Church of Rome, here follows. Then Watkyns adds, "Super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis *dictus rev. pater me prothotonarium et notarium predictum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere*, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium perhibere rogavit et requisivit.

(4.) "Et deinde die mense et anno predictis dictus rev. dom. Thomas electus, in mea et prelibatorum ven. virorum presentia testium ad hoc etiam adhibitorum, dict' domum Capitularem

(2.) He then asserts, and offers to prove, that Cranmer took the oath of obedience to the pope.

exivit, et ad gradus summi altaris dicti Collegii vestibis sacerdotalibus amictus ad recipiendum munus consecrationis perrexit," etc. Then follows the recital of the oath of obedience to the pope, and Watkins's account how Cranmer, as he had protested, understood it: "Manibus suis tenens, ante lecturam ejusdem scedule et juramenti in eadem contanti prestacionem, in mea et eorundem testium presentia asseruit et protestatus est, *se dictam scedulam lecturum ac juramentum inibi insertum prestiturum sub premissis protestacionibus alias per eundem eodem die in dicto domo Capitulari in mea et eorundem testium presentia habitis et factis, et non aliter neque alio modo.* Et incontinenter post premissa eandem scedulam perlegit, et ut in eadem continetur juravit. *Super quibus assertione et protestacione per eundem modo premissis tunc ibidem factis unum vel plura publicum seu publica exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta, ac testes prescriptos testimonium perhibere etiam tunc rogavit et requisivit.*

(5.) "Quibus sic peractis die mense et anno predictis, ac solenni consecratione ejusdem rev. patris finita et expedita, idem rev. pater dom. Tho. Cantuar. Archiepiscopus *ante dictum summum altare pallium recepturus, in mea et dict. Joh. Tregonwell, Tho. Bedill, et Rich. Gwent, testium predict. ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum, ante prestacionem juramenti infrascripti iterum protestatus est se hujusmodi sequens juramentum sub eisdem protestacionibus ut premittitur in dicto domo Capit. habitis et factis,"* etc. Then follows the oath as it is printed, from the Register of Cranmer, by Strype and others; and Watkins continues, "Super *qua protestacione sic ut premittitur per eundem reverendissimum tercio facta et habita, idem rev. pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum exinde conficere,*

(3.) He afterwards brings forward the deposition of the prothonotary, Watkins, in which the protest of Cranmer is copied; and the prothonotary states the order by the archbishop for the proper instruments to record it. This is the first reading of the protest in the chapter-house of St. Stephen's before Watkins and others, specially named.

(4.) The archbishop proceeds, as the same witnesses again officially testify, (and, doubtless, as numbers generally testified; for the church at the time, Pole has told us, was as full of persons as it could be,) from the chapter-house to the altar in the church to receive consecration; holding in his hand the schedule containing the papal oath; against which, after it had been read, he, a second time, protested in form and manner as in the chapter-house.

(5.) Lastly, after his consecration, and being about to receive the pall, his oath and protestation were, a third time, publicly repeated, and commanded to be recorded.

Thus complete, in regard to his protest, is the proof of Cranmer's fair dealing, transmitted

ac testes predictos testimonium perhibere de et super eisdem etiam tercio rogavit et requisivit. Acta fuerunt hec omnia, etc. Et ego Richardus Watkyns in legibus baccalaureus dicti dom. nostri Regis prothonotarius etc. ea omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiavi ac in notam sumpsi. Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum confeci, publicavi, etc."

to Rome in the detail of the judicial process against him. What may we think, then, of the calumny, which we have traced to * Pole, (after whom it is insinuated by Sanders ; then affirmed by the Romish historian, assuming the name of Dod ; next by Phillips, the biographer of Pole, and since cordially adopted by Mr. Butler and Dr. Lingard,) as to the *secret protest*? What, but that it was intended unjustly to stain the very entrance of Cranmer upon his office, and so to strengthen any other reports which malice might dictate, and ingenuity would colour, against the man " ' that so bravely shook off the pope and his appendages."

" 6. " However," Dr. Lingard proceeds, " with regard to the morality of the fact, it matters little whether it were done in private, or in public. In either case, it was a secret to him, to whom the oath was taken, and by whom it was imposed. He had empowered no one to receive it with any limitation. He had issued the bulls for the archbishop elect on the express condition that he should take the oath in the usual manner, previously to the episcopal consecration. Undoubtedly, as far as regarded the pontiff, the protest was a fraud."

Let us see whether there was fraud or not.

* See before, p. 12.

† Strype's Life of Cranm. Pref.

" Vindic. p. 78.

Clement knew that the person, for whom his bulls were demanded, was an open ² enemy to his power, and had every where disputed against it. He could not, therefore, be sincere in this promotion. But he had no wish, by impeding it, to force the king into an absolute quarrel. He had felt the blow, too, at the papal dominion in the decision of parliament, that prelates might be consecrated in England without the sanction of the pope, if that sanction were delayed; though, in the present case of Cranmer, Dr. Lingard insinuates the nullity of “³ being consecrated without the papal approbation.” The bulls for this promotion were accordingly not delayed; and to Cranmer’s resistance in regard to the oath in the pontifical, as it would be prescribed, was opposed, at the king’s command, the advice of certain eminent civilians; “⁴ who said, he might do it by way of protestation, and so one be sent to Rome to take the oath and do every thing in his name.” Fearing, however, that this proxy might have taken the oath without limitation, the archbishop declares, in his personal protest, “⁵ that whatever may be the oath, which my proctor has already taken to the pope in my name, it

² Burnet, Strype, Collier.

³ See before, p. 21.

⁴ Fox, and Strype.

⁵ See the Protest in Strype and Collier.

was not my intention or will to give him any power, by virtue of which he might take any oath in my name ^b *contrary to, or inconsistent with,*

^b Cranmer, in the same spirit, rebuked his papal judge, the bishop of Gloucester: "You, my lord, are perjured: for now you sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm." To the pitiful reply of the bishop, that Cranmer caused "him to forsake the pope, and to swear that the king, and not he, ought to be his supreme head;" the answer of the archbishop is, "You report me ill, and say not the truth. The truth is, that my predecessor, bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to the king, and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome; and that God's word would bear him, &c." Fox, Acts and Mon. Warham, therefore, did not consider this acknowledgment as any violation of the papal oath. He considered, no doubt, that the king had a right unquestionably from Scripture to the obedience of his subjects, as Dr. Ridley argues in the case of Cranmer; and therefore that the pope's assumed authority over the same subject, requiring an obedience inconsistent with his allegiance to an acknowledged superior, was void by the implied conditions of the oath itself. The authority of the pope was now daily sinking in estimation. The king, it may be thought, might have wholly dispensed with the present expiring form; but as Gilpin observes, to get rid of forms is often the last work of reformation. We conclude, accordingly, with Ridley, that Clement having ceased to be superior to the king in England at the very time of Cranmer's taking it, the oath was a ceremony *pro forma*, and as such the archbishop looked upon it; that therefore a Papist has no right to censure him, even if he had taken the oath (as Warham did) without a protest; but he thought it more honest, before he took the oath imposed,

*the oath by me already taken, or hereafter to be taken, to our illustrious king of England: and in case he has taken any such contrary or inconsistent oath in my name, I protest, that the same, being taken, without my knowledge, and without my authority, shall be null and void.** We cannot, therefore, think the determination of the protest to have been "a secret to the pontiff." Well acquainted with the persevering opposition of Cranmer, and afraid of provoking the king, Clement would be prepared for the renunciation in question. Evidently he acquiesced in it; and no thunder from the Vatican followed. Dr. Lingard, indeed, contends that the purport of Cranmer's protest was carefully concealed from the public, because, *otherwise*, the news would quickly have reached Rome, and the archbishop would have been suspended from the exercise of his office. Nothing could have been *more public* than this protest. How could it be concealed, therefore, from the pontiff? Doubtless, an account of the whole ceremony was carefully transmitted to him: for, I argue from Dr. Lingard's own words, if the protest was public, then the news or relation of it would quickly have reached Rome: but

to declare in what sense he took it, and what his exceptions were, without any mental reservation. Nor does it appear that those, before whom he took it, were dissatisfied

* See before, p. 21.

the protest was public ; therefore the news of it did quickly reach Rome. I will adopt a syllogism, too, from Cardinal Pole's assertion, who reminds Cranmer of the oath taken at his consecration ; than which, he says, nothing could be " ^d more solemn, being made in the hand of a bishop, with the testimony and assistance of other bishops, *openly in the church, in the presence of as much people as the church could hold*, at such time as you, arrayed with the sacred vesture of a bishop, came afore the altar to be consecrated archbishop." Now, if the protestation accompanied this oath at the precise moment mentioned, then the multitude present witnessed both : but the oath and the protestation, we have seen, were inseparable ; therefore both were witnessed by all the people in the church. And yet Pole is so misled, or so malicious, as to ^e charge the archbishop with a privy protest. Public as it certainly was. I may now therefore ask, where is the *menaced suspension from office*? In the imagination only of Dr. Lingard. Clement and his conclave adopted no measure to punish what to some of them would be *no news*. They made no com-

^d Pole's Lett. to the Archbishop. Strype's Life of Cranm. Rec. No. 89.

^e See before, p. 12.

ment upon this prelude to the 'extinction of bulls from Rome, but

"all sat mute,

"Pondering the danger with deep thoughts."

Cranmer, in the last proceedings against him, reverted to this protest with the consciousness of having acted fairly and without disguise. "I indeed," said he before the papal commissioners who were trying him, "I indeed *bona fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge the pope's authority any further than as it agreed with the express Word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation I did cause to be inrolled; and there I think it remaineth." It remaineth to this day in his Register at Lambeth, a proof of his sincerity.

III. "^a *Charge the third.* The third passage, which calls forth the reprehension of Mr. Todd, refers to a letter from the new archbishop to his sovereign. 'As soon as the convocation had separated, a hypocritical farce was enacted between Henry and Cranmer. The latter wrote

^a These bulls for Cranmer were the last that were received in England in the reign of Henry. Burnet.

^b Fox, Acts and Mon.

^c Dr. Lingard, Vindic. p. 79.

a most urgent letter to the king, representing the evils to which the nation was exposed from a disputed succession; and begging for the exoneration of his own conscience, and the performance of his duty to the country, the royal licence to examine and determine the great cause of the divorce. The king readily granted the request.' Hist. vi. 256.

"1. To this passage, Mr. Todd opposes the entire letter of Cranmer: not that he objects to the accuracy of my statement, but to shew that the transaction does not deserve the name of being a *hypocritical farce*.¹ He also asks, 'why, as the business of the divorce is called a *hypocritical farce*, is not Gardiner also said to have enacted a part in it.' I am surprised that Mr. Todd did not observe, that the expression is not applied to *the business of the divorce*, but to the correspondence between Cranmer and the king, in which Gardiner had no concern. As to the part which Gardiner acted in *the business of the divorce*, I have stated that he acted with seven others as counsel for the king." Hist. vi. 257.

The discrimination between the correspondence and the business of the divorce is truly diverting; as if the *letter* had nothing to do with *that* business? But it must be the letter

¹ Dr. Lingard, *Vindic.* p. 80. n.

only, it seems, to which the *dramatic character* belongs, in order that Gardiner, the greatest *hypocrite* that ever walked the earth, may be rescued from any prominence in "the farce which was enacted," or, as Phillips also *dramatically* words it, "the impious farce of conscience which was acted." Gardiner, in the business of the divorce, acted as counsel for the king, Dr. Lingard tells us; but he tells us not, that, out of court too, this cunning prelate was a loud and strenuous advocate for the very measures which Cranmer had suggested, and which expedited the divorce. He tells us not, that Gardiner was considered, as I have stated, "a principal doer in all parts of the business;" he conceals also what an accomplished actor *this counsel for his majesty* then and afterwards was, "false in king Henry's time, a dissembler in king Edward's time, perjured and a murderer in queen Mary's time, mutable and inconstant in all times;" upon whom even the joint accuser of Cranmer with Dr. Lingard, I mean the biographer of Pole, has recorded the compliment bestowed both by Contarini and the cardinal, "that Gardiner's book in defence of the king's supremacy was set off *with great art*, and that

^b Life of Card. Pole, vol. i. p. 127.

¹ Vindic. of Cranmer, 8vo. ed. p. li. 12mo. ed. p. 55.

^m Fox, Acts and Mon.

ⁿ See the Life of Pole, vol. i. p. 127.

he (the cardinal) must apply to the author what is said of gamesters, *that their dexterity only enables them to be greater cheats.*" Recurring to the charge of hypocrisy brought against Cranmer alone, in the present question, by Phillips and Dr. Lingard, with whom too Dr. Milner* may be joined ; I may observe, that this partial indignation of Romanists has been excited in consequence of the papal authority being no longer required in the cause. Their pride is mortified, in beholding Cranmer upon the judgment-seat, which the pontiff thought his own :

" Manet altâ mente repòstum

" Judicium Paridis."

Phillips indeed relates, though not without a sort of sneer, that the archbishop " " acknowledged Henry VIII. to be the sole source of all spiritual jurisdiction, and *that it was by his sufferance that he, the primate, could judge and determine a mere spiritual cause* ; and, at his most humble request, the king grants him this power in the commission *to proceed on the divorce.*"

" " But the true point at issue between us," Dr. Lingard says, " is, whether the conscientious motives, alleged by Cranmer, were real or pretended. To decide this, we must look at

* See Vindic. of Cranmer, 8vo. ed. p. xlvi. 12mo. ed. p. 50.

† Life of Pole, vol. ii. p. 213.

‡ Dr. Lingard's Vindic. p. 79.

the facts. Henry had failed in all his attempts to obtain a divorce from his wife. Fortunately, archbishop Warham dies ; and the king, instead of translating some prelate to the vacant see, as had been the practice for the last hundred and fifty years, pitches upon a clergyman in priest's orders, a dependant on the family of his mistress."

Let us look a little closer at these facts, and at circumstances connected with them. Cranmer was now a dignitary also of the church, being archdeacon of Taunton ; and not without other preferment. His elevation, however, at once to archiepiscopal honour might be challenged as irregular, if there really had been no precedent for it (as Dr. Lingard would insinuate) within the last hundred and fifty years, or, indeed, if there had been none within his own time. Walden, dean of York, was at once advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1397, and held it nearly two years. About half a century earlier, Bredwardin and Islip were consecrated primates without the passport of an inferior see. Lee attained the northern primacy at once, and was consecrated archbishop of York in 1531. And why has Dr. Lingard withheld from notice the leap of Cran-

* Le Neve's Fasti, p. 47.

† Ibid. p. 6.

* Ibid. p. 7.

* Ibid. p. 310.

mer's successor, cardinal Pole; who, " * on the same day, whereon Cranmer ended his life, *was ordered priest at Greenwich; and the next day, Naboth being dead, took possession of his vineyard, being consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.*

But Cranmer was "a dependant," Dr. Lingard says, "upon the family of the king's mistress," as he is pleased to designate Anne Boleyn. This is a part of the atrocious fictions of Sanders respecting her family; who ' relates that her father, the earl of Wiltshire, (whom however he slanderously calls her reputed father,) introduced Cranmer to the king as having long lived with him in the capacity of chaplain, whom he could recommend as learned, grave, and modest, devoted to his majesty's cause, and therefore a proper person to be

* Godwin's Annals, Engl. ed. p. 323.

† De Schism. Angl. 1585, fol. 57. ed. 1586, p. 82, in which latter edition it is pleasant enough to observe that the earl, who in the former edition is said merely *to have heard* of the king's intention to supply the place of Warham only with one who would be entirely subservient to his will, is now said, with some addition, *to have had an inkling of it!* "Hoc ubi Thomas Bolenus, qui putabatur Annæ Bolenæ pater, *accepisset; Jamdudum, inquit, O rex, domi meæ habeo Presbyterum,*" &c. ed. 1586. "Hoc Tho. Bolenus, &c. *subodoratus, ratusque pulcherrimam sibi nunc dari occasionem suam suæque filię causam provehendi, regem adit, sicque affatur; Jamdudum, &c.*" ed. 1586. A touch was wanting to colour the tamer scenery of the picture in its first representation.

archbishop of Canterbury; as if the king had never heard of him before! Thus the *first* of the causes, enumerated by Dr. Lingard in his History, which now led to the primacy, is, “that Cranmer had *long* been a dependant on the family of the earl of Wiltshire, and had assisted the father and the daughter with his services and advice, &c.” Now ^a Fox and archbishop Parker inform us, that the introduction was the very reverse of what has been stated: The king ^b introduced to the earl this learned ecclesiastic, after his majesty had been informed by others of his notion respecting the divorce; the king then sent him to this nobleman’s house; the king directed the attention which should there be shewn to him. Great friendship afterwards was certainly formed between Cranmer and the family of the Boleyns; but he had now won ^c the respect of the nobility in general, and with his company the sovereign also was so delighted, as rarely to excuse his absence. He was one of the royal chaplains too, and was

^a Hist. of Eng. 2d ed. vol. vi. p. 252.

^b Fox, p. 1861, col. i. and Parker, p. 482.

^c “Calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, the king said, Let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house for a time, &c. Let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study, &c.” Fox, ut *supr.* See also Strype’s Life of Cranmer. B. I. ch. 1.

^d Strype, ut *supr.*

presented by the king to a parochial benefice. Who indeed will believe that a prince would suffer the person so serviceable to him as Cranmer had been, and with whom he held frequent communication, to be *dependent* on any other than himself?

“^a By the time Cranmer’s bulls arrive,” according to the next statement of Dr. Lingard, “the king’s mistress is several months gone with child; not a moment is to be lost.” The king’s mistress! Yes, from Sanders the attack upon the maiden fame of Anne Boleyn has indeed been borrowed by other Romish writers. The virulence of this early slanderer still serves to keep alive the old assertion of Romanists, that her daughter, our great Elizabeth, is illegitimate. Now, what authentic evidence is there, that she really stooped to be “the king’s mistress?” Would she have been permitted to become his wife, if thus she had fallen? Let us see how the legend of her disgrace has first been penned, and how it has been since supported. “^c The Romish legend of Anne Boléyn,” (I adopt the words of a valuable

^a Vindicta. p. 80.

^b The cardinal Quirini, editor of Pole’s Letters, in 1754, scruples not to reflect upon Sanders and other Romish writers in respect to their calumnies of this description. See Ridley’s Review of Phillips’s Life of Pole, p. 13.

^c Soames, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 380.

writer,) “ up to the time of her marriage, may be thus abridged. Henry, when a boy of fifteen, and possessed of as much political power as the generality of boys, sent a gentleman of distinction (afterwards earl of Wiltshire) abroad upon an embassy, in order that he might carry on an amour with that gentleman’s wife: By the time when the youthful adulterer became sixteen, the lady presented him with a daughter, who, though disfigured by personal blemishes, discovered, at an early age, so much humour and such a good taste for dress, that her father fell in love with her when she was nineteen at the farthest; and determined upon repudiating a princess solely upon her account: that her morals had hitherto been most licentious; but that, for the purpose of mounting a throne, she continued, during two years, inflexibly chaste; that then, for no imaginable purpose, she relapsed into her former habits of infamy; and that, after three years spent in this manner, proving pregnant, she was married in a garret, before day-light, one winter’s morning, to her said father, who told an infamous falsehood, in order to persuade a clergyman to perform the ceremony!” There lived, however, at the time when Sanders was forming most of these profligate stories, the impartial biographer of Wolsey, George Cavendish, who had been his gentleman-usher, and wrote his memoirs,

distinguished for their strict adherence to truth, in the time of Mary. He was no stranger to the enmity borne by Anne Boleyn towards the cardinal; but while he makes reflections upon the gaiety of her dress and manners, he makes none upon her maiden chastity. In his biographical pages that honour is unimpeached, although in his ‘*Metrical Visions* he sides with those who have thought her an unfaithful wife, but who have failed to prove it. Now, would he have declined to record the belief, or report, of Henry’s triumph over her virtue, if he had known that there was foundation for such report or belief? An expression, however, used by Wolsey to this biographer, has been recently cited by Dr. Lingard, as bearing the evil sense of “*her secret and nocturnal influence*” with the king; namely, “*that she was the night-crow that cries ever in the king’s ears against me.*” Then Cavendish must have been the

^a Published by Mr. Singer, with Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*, &c. 1825. vol. ii. p. 39, seq.

^b Vindic. p. 102, in answer to the *Quarterly Reviewer*.

^c The whole passage should be observed. “There was a continual serpentine enemy about the king that would, I am well assured, if I had been found stiff-necked, have called continually upon the king in his ear (I mean the night-crow) with such vehemency, that I should with the help of her assistance have obtained sooner the king’s indignation than his lawful favour.” Cavendish, Singer’s edit. vol. i. p. 249.

most careless and stupid of observers; for he has not so much as glanced, in reciting this expression, at the delicacy of accusation now first discovered in it. Cavendish, indeed, knew better: he knew the ^ksuperstitious turn of his master's mind; he knew that "the night-crow" signified nothing more than *the* ^lominous name for Anne Boleyn, opposed as she had been to Wolsey's fortunes. Let us look to another account of the lady, "^m believed at the

^k See Cavendish, ut *supr.* p. 233, seq. and p. 274. And Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 515. "Shaking his head at a *ma-lum omen*, the cardinal rose from the table, and went into his bed-chamber, there lamenting," &c. Cavendish.

^l The night-crow, or night-raven, has long been decked with the superstitious honour of being "an ominous bird, as he was to Agrippa, and again in the council of Constance to Pope John xxii." See Swan's *Speculum Mundi*, 1635, p. 403. Hence the poetical and dramatic use of him in the following instances, the first of which is cited, in agreement also with the opinion I have above expressed, by the learned and elegant writer of *Lux Renata*, *A Protestant's Epistle in verse*, 1827.

"The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign,

"The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time."

Shakespeare, Hen. VI. P. III.

"I pray God, his bad voice bode no mischief! I had as lief have heard the night-raven, come what plague could have come after it."

Much Ado About Nothing.

^m Turner's *Hist. Hen. VIII.* p. 474. From the Sloane MSS. No. 2945. *Brit. Mus.* "A manuscript of the century in which she lived, and purports to be a life of Hen. VIII, from

time, and transmitted to us by one of her adversaries, and, therefore, the more credible;" in which, this is her answer to the solicitations of the king: "I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of my dowry that I shall bring to my husband." Yet one more testimony, nearly coeval, may be adduced in proof of her honourable mind; given, as it has been, by a writer who is^a thought to have designed a complete exposure of such parts of Sanders's book as came within her own immediate knowledge. "° After so many billets of cunning politics, surmounted by the guiding providence of God; after so many trials of her truth, passed through by her wise and virtuous governance; the king having every way made so

his falling in love with Anne Boleyn to the death of queen Catherine. Like Cavendish, it takes the papal side." Ibid. p. 472. And yet it slanders not her maiden fame. The writer, as well as Cavendish, was in this respect an honourable enemy. See more also, in Mr. Turner's history, from this writer in favour of her.

^a George Wyatt, Esq. son and heir of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, who was beheaded for rebellion in the first year of the reign of queen Mary. What he wrote concerning Anne Boleyn was privately printed in 1817, and in 1825 was appended to Mr. Singer's valuable edition of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, &c. vol. ii. p. 177, seq. Where see an interesting account of the writer, who died in 1624, at the age of eighty.

[°] Singer, ut *supr.* vol. ii. p. 200.

thorough proof *how deep root honour had taken in her bosom*, and having found it *not to be shaken by him*, this royal and famous prince Henry the eighth, resolving her matchless perfections meet alone to be joined with his, now, at the length, concluded forthwith to knit up this marriage, although, for certain causes, the same was thought more convenient to be performed somewhat privately and secretly. On the twenty-fifth of January, (1532-3,) therefore, the ceremony was consummate. The king also shortly after having himself *more ascertained, and by more inward trial more assured, her spousal faith*, would yet further testify that his opinion of her, by giving her that highest honour he could give her virtues, in having her solemnly and royally crowned. And thus we see they lived and loved, tokens of increasing love perpetually increasing between them. Her mind brought him forth the rich treasures of love of piety, love of truth, love of learning. Her body yielded him the fruits of marriage, inestimable pledges of her faith and loyal love."

But we must revert to the arrival of the bulls; namely, in the month of February, and what followed thereupon. For this lady is then described by Dr. Lingard, (with the breathless haste of an active parish-officer,) as "*several months gone with child; and so not a moment was to be lost!*" Well; the bulls for

Cranmer are arrived, but not a single hint is given to him for any extraordinary dispatch, either in regard to his own business, or to the pretended hazardous state of the lady. He delays, indeed, his consecration, after the receipt of these notable bulls, *more than a month*; which Dr. Lingard expedites into "*a few days*," for the sake of losing no time; although his labour is as fruitless, as his computation is malicious. Anne Boleyn was delivered of her daughter Elizabeth in September, and is now said by the Romish historian of England to have been several months gone with child in the preceding February! The historian has since resorted in aid of his design to give her no quarter, and with another calculation that sadly sinks his former one, to the circumstance of Elizabeth's birth being *seven weeks* before the full time. But this, it has been rightly observed, "^p is an argument which medical experience will pronounce to be wholly inconclusive, and which has more than once been advanced in favour of her chastity." So much, at least, in denial of her being "the king's mistress," until authentic evidence can be produced to prove the dishonour, which still rests solely upon partial assumptions, and upon narratives teeming with obvious supplies for the sus-

^p Lux Renata, &c. ut supr. p. 31.

pitions, and objections, of all who read carefully, and judge dispassionately.

The archbishop is now consecrated; and “within less than a fortnight, even before he obtains possession of his *temporalities*,” Dr. Lingard proceeds, “asks permission to hear and determine *the cause of the divorce*.” This being the last of the “facts,” in the present case, to be “looked at;” Dr. Lingard exclaims, “Can any man, who bears these facts in mind, believe that Cranmer was ignorant of the object for which he was placed in the see of Canterbury? that he intruded himself into this difficult and odious business, merely for the exoneration of his conscience? or that he sought to determine the cause for any other reason than because he knew that it was expected from him?”

Cranmer, in the first place, now thought little about the *temporalities*. His object was to proclaim without delay, what he had long conscientiously believed, and fearlessly asserted, the spiritual supremacy of his sovereign; he was now glad to shew, that, under his permission, he was “to judge and determine mere spiritual causes within the realm;” and that the papal usurpation would be thus defunct. His opinion of the supremacy, as well as of the divorce, was well known to the public. He

held it his duty, therefore, to remind the king of the censures passed upon his marriage “by the mouths of *the rude and ignorant common people of the realm*, few of them fearing to report and say, that thereof is likelihood hereafter to ensue great inconvenience, and danger, and peril to the realm, and much uncertainty of succession;” that consequently he required of his majesty a commission to form a judicial court, at once to settle the matter which had so long been artfully delayed by the pope, who yet had before granted a similar commission that ended only without the delivery or determination of any judgment. Cranmer therefore now observed, that “*after the convocation had agreed, and determined this matter in the king’s behalf, according to the former consent of the universities, it was thought convenient by the king and his learned council, that I should repair unto Dunstable, and there call queen Catherine before me to hear the final sentence made.*” Cranmer indeed was now following the steps of his predecessor Warham in the present business; for that primate assured the king of his entire assent to the divorce,

¹ Cranmer’s Letter to the king. See my Vindic. 8vo. ed. p. xlv. 12mo. ed. p. 50.

² Cranmer’s Letter to Hawkins, Ellis’s Orig. Lett. vol. ii. p. 35.

³ Cavendish, ed. Singer, vol. i. p. 157. Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 73. ed. 1681.

when before Wolsey, Campeggio, the bishops, and the counsellors, assembled by the papal commission, his majesty delivered his sentiments. Gardiner could even applaud this measure of the king, and the fulfilment of it by Cranmer. ““ There is a commandment,” said this shrewd prelate, who had been one of the counsel for his majesty, (and it is to him I consider the application of *learned council* as specially pointing in the words of the archbishop just cited,) “there is a commandment, that a man shall not marry his brother’s wife, What ought, or could the king of England have done otherwise than by *the whole consent of the people and judgment of his church*, he hath done? that is, that he should be divorced:—He was content to have the assisting consents of men of notable gravity, and the censures of the most famous universities of the world: and all to the intent, that men should think he did that which he both might do, and ought to do, uprightly well, seeing the best-learned and worthy good men have subscribed unto it.” Would not this man, would not Warham, if either of them had been appointed to the task, have then determined the cause as Cranmer did? But the circumstance furnishes Dr. Lingard

“ Gardiner’s *De Vera Obedientia*, translated by Michael Wood, 1553, fol. 16.

with an opportunity of leaning to Sanders, in saying that the archbishop so determined it for no other reason, than because he knew it was expected from him! “* Porro Thomas Cranmerus ex domo Annæ Bolenæ ad solius actoris arbitrium *ex lege delectus iudex, ut sententiam pro divortio ferret;*” but not willing that the promotion of the Archbishop should be untouched, the second impression of this infamous book improves the passage into “* *ex lege delectus archiepiscopus et iudex, ut sententiam pro divortio ferret!*”

2. Dr. Lingard is, in this division of the charge, dissatisfied at my placing Cranmer at the head of the commissioners in the process at Dunstable, when he was the sole judge; and at my introducing the remark of Gilpin, (one of the archbishop's biographers,) upon the occasion, who says, that the circumstance “* gave great offence to the queen, and shocked the archbishop himself.” Gilpin, I admit, may be mistaken in the latter part of his supposition, but is not in the former. The queen denied the authority of Cranmer, contemptuously affirming “* that she was not bound to stand to that

* De Schism. Angl. ed. 1585, fol. 72. b.

† Ibid. ed. 1586, p. 82.

‡ Gilpin, p. 29.

§ Lord Herbert, Hist. Hen. VIII. p. 374.

divorce made by my lord of Canterbury, *whom she called a shadow!*" Nor is it of any consequence, that the archbishop is termed sole judge, instead of the principal person in a commission. It is well known that ^b with him, and for what purpose, came the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and many other great clerks, to the process; and, as Strype expresses it, "^c though he pronounced the sentence, he was but the mouth of the rest; and they were all in as deep as he."

3. The last division of the present charge contains a facetious illustration, by Dr. Lingard, of the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn in a garret at the western end of Whitehall. It consists of a polite offer to substitute "^d a room in the attic story," as being "a more attic phrase, and, therefore, more befitting the dignity of the subject." But to the solitary unknown manuscript, said to have been presented to Mary thirty years before Sanders's book was printed, not the slightest corroboration is added. The reference is merely to

^b Cranmer says, "I came unto Dunstable, my lord of Lincoln being assistant unto me, and my lord of Winchester, Dr. Bell, Dr. Claybrook, &c. with divers other learned in the law; and so there at our coming kept a court, &c." Lett. to Hawkins, ut sup. p. 35.

^c Life of Cranm. B. i. ch. 4.

^d Vindic. p. 82.

Le Grand, whom no Romanist of succeeding times, till Dr. Lingard, has thought fit to trust as to the narrative. Davanzati would have gladly availed himself of the information, as a choice addition to the trash he has collected from Sanders, (who now, however, stands him in no stead,) in his *Scisma d' Inghilterra*; Phillips would not have overpassed, in his *Life of Pole*, the opportunity of exhibiting what throws a light so ludicrous upon the secret marriage: but they have disregarded the reference in question, which will never be considered of any other value, than as the parent of a very witty observation won by the pretended local circumstance from the pen of Dr. Lingard. “ * The king's object,” Dr. Lingard adds, “ was certainly to conceal the ceremony from the prying eyes of his household.” And yet he tells us, that † Norris and Heneage, two of the king's household, and Anne Savage, the train-bearer of Anne Boleyn, were then present in the garret. Lord Herbert relates, (from Bellay, as it should seem in the margin of his history,) that “ ‡ the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, and brothers, &c.” were also witnesses of the ceremony, “ which yet (he adds) was not published till the Easter

* Vindic. p. 81.

† Hist. of Eng. 2d edit. vol. vi. p. 250.

‡ Lord Herbert, ut supr. p. 341.

following." Godwin, who lived nearer the time, says, "the king's love brooked no delays. Wherefore, on the five-and-twentieth of January, privately, and in the presence of very few, he married the Lady Anne Boleyn." It will be difficult to imagine, after these statements, that the ceremony could escape the prying eyes of the king's servants; and it will be difficult to believe, that the officiating minister, who hesi-

^b *Annals*, 1630, p. 126.

^c The first edition of Sanders represents the marriage as solemnized according to the Romish rites: "Rolandus (Lee) accersitur, ac rem divinam Catholico et Romano ritu facere jubetur." *De Schism. Angl.* ed. 1585, fol. 60. b. The second edition withholds from the ceremony, as if in anger or contempt, the "Catholico et Romano ritu;" but tallies with the former, in pretending that Rowland Lee, (the officiating minister) was persuaded to perform the ceremony, by the king's assuring him that he had obtained the pope's bull for the marriage which was then lying in his cabinet, and which, it being not then light, the king desired to excuse himself from fetching; upon which, giving credit to the pretence, Lee married them! Burnet considers this as coined in excuse for Lee, who, though he now complied absolutely with the king, turned afterwards to the Romish party: all the world now saw that the pope and the emperor were so linked together, that Lee could not but know *that no such thing was possible*; and he was so obsequious to the king, that such arts were needless to persuade him to any thing the king had a mind to. (See Burnet's appendix to the first vol. *Hist. Ref.*) The second edition of Sanders indeed confesses, what at once betrays the fabrication of the narrative as to this absurd account of the hesitating priest, *that for this especial service,*

tated on other accounts to proceed with it, should not in the first instance have also demurred at his introduction into a garret for the purpose. Private, indeed, the marriage was intended to be ; but a garret would have awakened stronger suspicions in the mind of Lee, than those which Sanders has expressed, that the king was deceiving him. Cranmer, too, was said to have performed the ceremony. How gladly, then, would Sanders have exhibited him in the garret ! I will finish this notice of the present fiction with again citing the words of the archbishop himself, the close of which ought ever to be in the memory of every Protestant, when he reads the history of Cranmer ; especially too as the Romish historian of England has * cited so much of the letter from which the words are taken, as concerns the marriage, but not the venerable primate himself. Cranmer is writing, in the month of June 1533, to his friend Hawkins, ambassador at the emperor's court, on the subject of the recent divorce of Catherine and the coronation of Anne ; and he says, “¹ You may not imagine that this

(In other words, for performing the ceremony without objection or demur,) the king afterwards made him bishop of Lichfield and Coventry : “*Propter hoc obsequium in episcopum Lichfeldiensem cooptavit.*” ed. 1586, p. 90.

* Hist. of Eng. 2d. ed. vol. vi. p. 252.

¹ Cranmer's Lett. to Hawkins, ut supr. p. 39.

coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about St. Paul's day last, as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child. Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. *And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales."*

IV. "*“ The fourth charge.* Mr. Todd's objections, under the head of the king's supremacy, are of such a nature, that I know not what answer to return. He inquires why I have asserted this thing, why I have omitted that? and attributes both assertions and omissions to motives, which never had existence, except in his own imagination. To refute such trifling, would be to insult the discernment of the reader: and I feel that an apology is due for the brief notice which I mean to take of the most prominent passages.

“ 1. I am charged with suppressing the fact that Gardiner wrote a book in defence of the king's supremacy. Now this is plainly intimated in the passage quoted by Mr. Todd, and is expressly stated in pages 426 and 482 of my sixth volume.”

The passage which I quoted, is this: “^a Henry called on the most loyal and learned of the prelates to employ their talents in support of his new dignity; and the call was obeyed by Sampson and Stokesley, *Tunstal* and *Gardiner*; by the former, as was thought, from affection to the cause, by the latter from fear of displeasure.” It is not the pretended trifling, it is the principal subject of this charge, which repels Dr. Lingard, and hurries his offended imagination into a belief “that I have asked *why* he has asserted this thing, and *why* he has omitted that,” under the head of the king’s supremacy. He “knows not what answer to return.” True: because I have asked no question upon the subject. But as my learned adversary was here determined, if not compelled, to be brief, he has therefore chosen a preliminary kind of flourish as a compensation for the short measure of animadversions which follow.

I have stated, what is beyond the possibility of his refutation, the spiritual supremacy of the king; his right to it; the acknowledgment of it; and the abolition therein of a divided allegiance. I am ready also to *answer* any inquiries, (although I have *proposed* none,) which Dr. Lingard may be pleased to make upon a subject so gratifying to every Protestant within his majesty’s dominions. I give the historian all the cre-

^a See Dr. Lingard’s Hist. 2d. ed. vol. vi. p. 284.

dit he desires for the *intimation* which he pleads in his defence. I wish not to deprive him of the advantage he claims, in referring to *Gardiner's* book expressly named, at a long distance however from the present purpose, in pages 426 and 482 of his sixth volume ; although in the former of these pages, it is barely mentioned in a note that has no connection with the subject before us ; and in the latter, only in a note also, but, indeed, accompanied with a reference to Sampson's exertion of his talents in support of what Dr. Lingard calls " the king's *new* dignity," and what *Gardiner* asserts in direct defiance to the historian, and with truth, to be " ° no *newly-invented* matter." So then the reader, if he bears in mind what is said in Dr. Lingard's sixth volume, p. 284, will be gratified in p. 486 with the *titles* of two treatises *De Obedientia*, &c. ; " the one, *as was thought*, written from affection to the cause ; the other, through fear of displeasure : " but with what manner of reasoning, *Gardiner*, or his compeer Sampson, contended, an ordinary reader is left to guess. Phillips is more communicative ; and ^p tells us that these treatises of Sampson and *Gardiner* were sent to Pole, who, naturally enough, was out of humour at " the work of the latter," which, while he

* Transl. of *Gardiner's De Obedientia*, &c. 1553, fol. xviii.

^p Life of Pole, vol. i. p. 127.

admitted it to be "set off with great art," he saw would tend to hurl the pontiff from the supremacy he claimed in England. In fact, *Gardiner* is accordingly screened by Dr. Lingard from notice, as much as may be, when the king's supremacy is the theme, because of a pretended "fear;" while Cranmer is sarcastically brought forward preaching upon the subject, and giving an example to his brethren. And yet *Gardiner* too was now giving the example, not only to his brethren, but to the whole kingdom; especially to all who had "heretofore doubted of the king's marriage or title, or of the bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy," to all who "favoured truth, and hated the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and his devilish fraudulent falsehood."

I am correct, therefore, in maintaining that Dr. Lingard has not *here*, (nor, I may add, in any other part of his volume,) given that information to his readers, which a publication so remarkable against the supremacy of the pope, by so remarkable a person as *Gardiner*, certainly required, if it were only to have prepared them for "his starting, *in the time of Mary*, from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily

¹ Bonner's Preface to *Gardiner's De Obedientia*, Transl. 1553, sign. b. iiij. b.

² Fox, *Acts and Mon.*

proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed !”

“ 2. ‘ I had said that Tunstal’s compliance,” Dr. Lingard continues, “ was thought to arise from the fear of the royal displeasure : to which Mr. Todd opposes a letter written by that prelate to Henry, and at the same time twits me with want of research ; otherwise I could not have been ignorant of its existence. I can assure him that I was well acquainted with the letter, though I drew from it an inference greatly at variance with his opinion. It most certainly proves in my favour that Henry himself did not believe the bishop, who had previously protested against the supremacy, to be a sincere convert to the cause : nor will the denial of Tunstal be sufficient to remove the suspicion, if we recollect that it was made under *the fear* of bringing on himself the vengeance of a despotic sovereign.”

Not in the least. I repeat my assertion, that the letter of Tunstal is not that of a man influenced by *fear*. It is true, Tunstal was grieved “ ‘ that the king should repute him to be looking for a new world or mutation,” as though he wished for the restoration of the papal authority.

• Vindic. p. 83.

• Tunstal’s Letter. See my Vindic. of Cranmer, 2d. ed. p. 147.

Henry had been misled by some malicious report against the prelate. Tunstal, however, replies, like a man of spirit, and with an honest indignation at his integrity being suspected, that he "had, *before the present call upon his talents to the same purpose*, set forth the king's supreme title, and caused others to do the same; and that *now* he had repaired to Durham, where he preached before a great company upon the just claim of his royal master, and the usurped authority of the pontiff. Of what then, as to the present point, had such a man to be in *fear*? The suspicion of his sovereign was momentary. He lost not an atom of the royal esteem. It is "certain, Burnet observes, that the king had a very particular regard for him, and finally recorded it by naming him, with Cranmer and others, an executor of his will. But the notion of *fear* upon the present occasion misleads Dr. Lingard as to another also of the prelates, and makes him contradict himself; for here he says that Stokesley employed his talents *from affection to the cause*, and afterwards he exhibits him as one of " " *the associates of Gardiner, who, to avoid the royal displeasure, consented to renounce the papal supremacy.*"

" Tunstal's Letter. See my Vindic. of Cranmer, 2d. ed. p. 147.

" Hist. Ref. vol. iii. p. 78.

" Hist. of Eng. 2d. ed. vol. vi. p. 349.

"3. * When I noticed Cranmer's sermon to prove that the pope was antichrist," Dr. Lingard adds, "I observed that *a new light had lately burst on the archbishop*. Mr. Todd denies it; because as much had been said by others before him. That is true; but I spoke with reference to Cranmer's previous conduct. But a little before, in the judgments by which he dissolved the marriage of Henry and Catherine, and confirmed the marriage of Henry and Anne, he was careful to style himself the legate of the very man, whom now he branded with the title of antichrist. Might I not then say with every appearance of truth, that a new light had burst upon his mind?"

The periphrasis of Dr. Lingard, "the new light now bursting upon the mind of Cranmer," instead of the simple "discovery" made by

* Vindic. p. 83.

* These are Dr. Lingard's words: "Cranmer zealously inculcated from the pulpit, what his learning or fanaticism had lately *discovered*, that the pontiff was the antichrist of the apocalypse." Hist. Eng. 2d. ed. vol. vi. p. 284.—Cranmer had long known that upon this point the reformation had been begun and carried on. Cochläus, in his letter to Bucer in 1546, thus dates the hated application of the term *twenty-five years back*, bewails the mischief it was doing, and trembles at what it would do! "Hic error (Ro. Pontificem antichristum esse) omnium ferè malorum (quæ et contigerunt 25 annis ex hoc religionis dissidio, et nunc præ oculis sunt, quæque adhuc futura timentur) causa, et origo, esse haud vanè putatur." In

the prelate in the History, is pretty, but to no purpose. Cranmer had long held the pontifical character cheap. He had shewn “^b how corrupt the existing pope was both in his person and government, and that he was abhorred even by some of his cardinals, *as himself had heard and seen at Rome.*” But, then, he styled himself “the legate of this very man, whom now he branded with the title of antichrist!” True. He decided causes, while he was thus titled, against the authority of the same person. He could not, in the cases mentioned, have done otherwise. The formal name and style of legate had not then been removed by authority from the description of the archbishop in public acts, though very soon afterwards by his influence it was dismissed. It 1535 it was^c ordered in convocation, that, instead of legate of the apostolic see, the archbishop should be denominated metropolitan and primate. But so little did Cranmer, either then or before, regard distinctions of this kind, that he solemnly said, “^d I pray God never to be merciful unto me at

XVIII. Artic. M. Bucer, &c. Responsio I. Cochläi, 1546. fol. 11. b.

^b Cranmer's speech in 1534, cited by Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 175, ed. 1681.

^c Burnet, vol. iii. p. 75.

^d Cranmer's Letter to the secretary Cromwell. Strype, Life of Cranm. Rec. No. 14.

the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, further than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will." Whether Cranmer and the many who preceded him, historians, poets, and divines, are correct in their opinion, that the bishop of Rome is the antichrist that should come, is another question. The archbishop certainly had not waited for the present occasion to illuminate his mind upon the subject. It was familiar to him. It became a prominent assertion afterwards in his great work upon the sacrament. It was the belief in which he closed his voice, and his existence at the stake: "As for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

V. *The fifth charge* relates wholly to the prosecution of Lambert for heresy, and to Dr. Lingard's belief of Cranmer having been "still more instrumental in the accomplishment of this tragedy, than he has asserted in his History. Lambert," he continues, "was first tried before the archbishop, and appealed from him to the king. I will not pretend that he was actually condemned by the archbishop, *because the proceedings have been lost*; but it is not very probable that he would appeal from him, till he saw that

an unfavourable judgment would be pronounced. Before Henry, it is admitted, that Cranmer disputed against him; and, if we may believe an authority quoted in the course of a few pages by Mr. Todd, he did more; he condemned him. 'What doctrine,' says Martin to the archbishop, 'taught you, when you *condemned* Lambert, the sacramentary, in the king's presence in White-hall?' Now does Cranmer deny that he condemned him? No; he silently acquiesces in the charge, replying, 'I maintained *then* the papist's doctrine.' Judgment we know was pronounced by Cromwell, the king's vicar-general; but from this passage it is probable that the seven bishops present, of whom Cranmer was the chief, sat as judges on the bench with Cromwell."

What might have been the judgment of Cranmer, if the cause had continued in his court, cannot now be known. *The proceedings are lost.* That he heard the accused with candour, as he had before 'addressed him with mildness on the subject of his crime, may fairly be supposed. The gentleness of his 'disputation with the unhappy man before the king confirms this supposition. That he ever personally urged his condemnation, is no where to be found. That even his advice was asked upon this point, does not

' Gilpin's Life of Craam. p. 58.

' Fox. Acts and Mon. p. 1122. col. ii.

appear. To the taunt of Martin, he gave an answer only that decided what opinion he then maintained. He is silent as to the charge, (though Martin, as well as himself, knew that *the king condemned the sacramentary*,) because, having been one of those present at the condemnation, which if he could not prevent, he appears not to have desired, he therefore was not able to deny a tacit acquiescence in the martyr's death. He had been officially compelled to receive the accusation. But let the admission made by Pole, that Cranmer was ^a said by his contemporaries to have killed no one, be ever borne in mind.

Phillips, however, like Dr. Lingard, retorts upon Cranmer the proceedings against Lambert; when he brings the prelate to the stake. The observations, which were made upon the biographer of Pole, apply to the present historian of England; especially as the latter is desirous to disprove that Cranmer *now*, in 1538, held and believed the Romish doctrine of the real presence, although the archbishop himself has told

^a Ne dites point pour vôtre excuse que vous n'avez tué personne, que vous avez traité tout le monde avec beaucoup de douceur et de bonté; car je scay que c'est ainsi que l'on parle." Pole's Lett. to Cranmer, from Legrand, &c. Epist. Poli, ed. Quirin. vol. v. 1757, p. 244. I owe this remark to the Rev. H. Soames, who is now publishing the History of the Reformation.

us that till his conference with Ridley, (several years after this occurrence,) he was “ⁱ of the old opinion.” But Dr. Lingard elsewhere considers the archbishop, even at the later date of 1547, as “^k leaning more than usual to the *ancient doctrines*,” and among these to that of “the body and blood of Christ in the communion being received with the bodily mouth:” He means in the archbishop’s translation of the catechism of Justus Jonas, though he has not named the latter; and he intends, I suppose, in the present doctrinal allusion, the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation. This subject, however, more properly belongs to the next charge.

Believing, then, that Cranmer was now wholly of the Romish opinion, I may ask Dr. Lingard, as Ridley has asked Phillips; “^l was it to be wondered at, or does this writer upbraid him for acting *like a Roman Catholic, when he was a Roman Catholic*?” Again: “Protestants might glorify God in him, as the primitive Christians did in St. Paul, ‘that he who persecuted them in times past, afterward preached the faith

ⁱ The archbishop appears to have hesitated a little, as to the doctrine of transubstantiation, so early as in 1539. See Strype’s *Cranm.* B. I. ch. xviii. But *he relinquished not the old error till about 1547*, as he confessed to Dr. Weston in his disputation.” Ibid. See also Ridley’s *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 169.

^k *Hist. of Eng.* 2d. ed. vol. vii. p. 37. n.

^l Ridley’s *Review of Phillips’s Life of Pole*, p. 300.

which once he destroyed.' Yet may we not ask how far was Cranmer *indeed* concerned in this execution? Lambert was brought before him and other bishops *for denying transubstantiation*, and appealed from them to the king. Thus the matter was taken out of his hands; and he had no other share in it, than to take his turn in the disputation *to defend opinions which he then held*." Yet once more: "Lambert's execution *was owing to the subtle cruelty of Gardiner*, by whose instigation Henry resolved to dispute with him publicly, after that unhappy man had appealed from the bishops to the king." What a contrast is Gardiner, in the sad story of Lambert, to Cranmer! Out of his turn for arguing with the accused ^m, Gardiner arose and spoke with fury. And when the disputations were at length discontinued through the sovereign's impatience, and Cromwell was by him commanded to read the sentence of condemnation, even in this last melancholy office the detestable design of Gardiner to involve *him*, who was desired to perform it, in the case of the prisoner, has been recorded; a circumstance which Dr. Lingard overpasses in his narrative of Lambert, as he conceals also throughout the proceedings the unkind activity of this over-forward prelate. " " This," Fox

^m He was appointed to the *sixth* place in the disputation: he seized the *second*. Fox, p. 1122, col. ii.

ⁿ Fox, p. 1123, col. ii.

informs us, "undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtilty of the bishop of Winchester, who desired rather that the sentence upon Lambert might be read by Cromwell than by any other; *so that, if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger!*" He had his eye too now upon Cranmer. He thought that the primate argued but faintly on this occasion, and therefore interposed in the argument that he might also lower his metropolitan in the eyes of his sovereign, as well as browbeat the prisoner, and foment prejudices that would help to forward his own almost immediate proceedings in regard to the Romish Six Articles.

VI. *The sixth charge* repeats the belief of Dr. Lingard, that, at the time of Lambert's trial, "Cranmer really held the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation; that Strype and Burnet think the same; and that, as far as he can judge, they think rightly." He states, what I still affirm, "that I am positive Cranmer held, at this period, the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation." He impugns my affirmation by the re-introduction of Martin's dialogue with the archbishop: "What doctrine *taught* you, when you condemned Lambert? Cranmer re-

* Burnet, Hist. Ref. ut supr. i. 255.

† Vindic. pp. 85, 86.

plied, ‘ I *maintained then* the Papists’ doctrine.’ Again Martin said, ‘ Master Cranmer, you have *taught* in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one *Verbum Domini*.’—‘ Nay,’ replied the archbishop, ‘ I *taught* but two contrary doctrines in the same.’—But Mr. Todd, whose eye is so experienced in the detection of verbal niceties, should have observed, that *these questions and answers* refer to the doctrine which Cranmer openly *taught*, and that we are inquiring into the doctrine which he inwardly *believed*. That he *taught* at this period the doctrine of transubstantiation, is well known. Had he not, the infallibility of the head of the church would have condemned him to the stake.”

It is to the authority only of the calumnies of his enemies, connected with his translating the catechism which has been mentioned, and with the German acquaintance which he had formed, that this assertion of Cranmer’s maintaining the Lutheran doctrine can be traced. “ From a Lutheran you became a Zuinglian,” said Martin to the archbishop in continuing the insulting dialogue, and with reference to the condemnation of Lambert. “ I grant,” was the reply of Cranmer, “ that *then* I believed otherwise than I do now, and so I did, until my lord of London, doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities

of doctors drew me quite from my opinion." Sanders eagerly seized the accusation of Martin; and in his first edition (though the charge is shifted in the second,) has accordingly ^a represented the archbishop as an enemy to Luther while Henry lived, as wholly a Lutheran upon the death of that Monarch, and as a Calvinist upon the opening of Edward's reign. Champney, glad of every opportunity to slander Cranmer, ^r copies this account.

Now Cranmer himself has explained to us the meaning of the passage, which from his Catechism has been cited as either a proof of his Lutheranism, or, as Dr. Lingard terms it, "a leaning towards it." The explanation at once convinces us, that the archbishop said truly, when he replied to commissioner Martin's assumption of *three*, that "he taught but *two* contrary doctrines in the high sacrament of the altar;" meaning, beyond all doubt, the two doctrines of the Church of Rome and of the Reformed Church of England. "In a Catechism by me translated and set forth," he says,

^a De Schism. Angl. ed. 1585, fol. 115. The index to this edition points accordingly to Cranmer as "Henricianus, postea Lutheranus, postremo Sacramentarius." The succeeding editions withhold this friendly pointer out to calumny!

^r De Voc. Min. Tract. 1618, p. 395.

^s See before, p. 73.

^t Answ. to Bp. Gardiner, p. 267.

“ I used [this] manner of speech, *that with our bodily mouths we receive the body and blood of Christ.* Which my saying divers ignorant persons, (not used to read old ancient authors, nor acquainted with their phrase and manner of speech,) did carp, and reprehend, for lack of good understanding. For this speech, and others before rehearsed of Chrysostome, and all other like, are not understood of *the very flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ*, (which, indeed, we neither feel nor see,) but that which we do to the bread and wine, *by a figurative speech* is spoken to be done to the flesh and blood, because they are the very signs, figures, and tokens, instituted of Christ, to represent unto us his very flesh and blood. And yet as with our corporal eyes, corporal hands and mouths, we do corporally see, feel, taste, and eat the bread and drink the wine, (being the sign and sacraments of Christ's body,) even so with our spiritual eyes, hands, and mouths, we do spiritually see, feel, taste, and eat his very flesh, and drink his very blood.”

—Gardiner replies in anger to the archbishop, “ “ that *the original of his translated Catechism* confutes him in few words, being printed in Germany, wherein, besides the matter written, is set forth in picture the manner of the ministering of this sacrament, where is the altar with

candle-light set forth, the priest apparelled after the old sort, and the man to receive kneeling, barehead, and holding up his hands, while the priest ministers the host to his mouth ; a matter as clear contrary to the matter of this book, as is light and darkness." The archbishop answers, with an admirable retort, " * it may appear to them that have any judgment what pithy arguments you make, and what dexterity you have in gathering of authors' minds, that would gather my mind, and make an argument here of a picture, neither put in my book, nor by me devised, but invented by some fond painter or carver, who paint and grave whatsoever their idle heads can fancy ! You should rather have gathered your argument upon the other side ; *that I mislike the matter, because I left out of my book the picture that was in the original before.* And I marvel you are not ashamed to allege so vain a matter against me, which indeed is not in my book ; and if it were, yet were it nothing to the purpose. *And in that Catechism I teach not, as you do, that the body and blood of Christ is contained in the sacrament being reserved, but that in the ministration thereof we receive the body and blood of Christ, whereunto if it may please you to add, or understand, this word SPIRITUALLY, then is the doctrine of my Catechism*

* Ans. to Bp. Gardiner, p. 269.

sound and good in all men's ears, who know the true doctrine of the sacraments."

On the other hand, from the tenor of Cranmer's letters, the one to the ambassador Hawkins, the other to Vadian, the learned foreigner, Dr. Lingard is inclined to agree with Burnet and Strype, that the archbishop had maintained the Lutheran tenet. To the first of his correspondents Cranmer relates the proceedings against the martyr Frith, and says that " ' the opinion of this person is of such a nature, that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, *that there is the very ' corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar* ; and [he] holdeth of this point most after the opinion of Oecolampadius : and surely I myself sent for him two or three times to persuade him to leave that his imagination." Now

' Letter cited by Dr. Lingard from the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 81, (since printed also in Mr. Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 33,) *Hist. Eng.* 2d ed. p. 366. n.

* That *corporal* expressly means the doctrine of the church of Rome, that is, transubstantiation, is plain in the Articles of Religion set forth in 1536, and in the Institution of a Christian Man in the following year; in both which, speaking of The Sacrament of the Altar, the words are, " Under the form and figure of bread and wine the very body and blood of Christ is *corporally*, really, and in the very substance, exhibited, distributed, and received, &c." See more upon this distinction of *corporaliter*, in Abp. Laud's Book against the Jesuit Fisher, 4th ed. p. 192.

Fox informs us, that Frith, to whom "the authority of Dr. Barnes *for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament*" was urged, objected not to this opinion "of Luther and Barnes" being received; contending only "for that point," Frith himself says, "in which they agreed with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped; and that, idolatry being taken away, he was ^b content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any man might be afraid of." If the archbishop then held the Lutheran tenet, he would hardly have said in the letter which has been cited, that as to the point of the real presence he had twice or thrice in vain endeavoured to change the opinion of this learned man. It was with the disbelief principally of *transubstantiation*, in its entire Romish sense, that Frith was charged. It was, in consequence of the ineffectual conversation with him upon *this doctrine*, that the archbishop left him to the examination and judgment of his ordinary, Stokesley, bishop of London.—Then as to Vadian, Cranmer's other correspondent, who had written a treatise against the corporal presence, of which he wished the archbishop to be the patron, the

^a Acts and Mon. p. 1034, col. i.

^b See also Burnet, Hist. Ref. i. 168. Frith wished that there were no disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.

reply was, ^c that he would be neither patron nor approver of that doctrine, until he saw stronger proofs for it; that so much did he dislike the opinion of Oecolampadius, and of Zuinglius, upon this point, that to them he applied the censure of Jerome concerning Origen; *where they wrote well, nobody wrote better; and where ill, nobody worse*; and that he wished those learned men had gone no further than to confute papistical errors and abuses, and had not sown their tares with their good corn. Thus afterwards, in the articles of 1536, which are the evidence of the first public and authorized attempt, in the reign of Henry, at a reformation of religious opinions; while some of the Romish abuses and errors are publicly declared, the doctrine of ^d transubstantiation remains untouched; it also remains in the following year in ^e *The Institution of a Christian Man*, a book, which was a fatal blow, however, to the enemies of the Reformation. These Articles, we are sure, were signed by Cranmer; and we believe the book to have been by him principally prepared.

Whatever Burnet and Strype may have suggested, as to the pretended Lutheranism of the

^c Strype, *Life of Cranm.* B. I. ch. xviii.

^d See the citation from these Articles in the preceding page 80, note ^a.

^e See the citation, p. 80, *ut supr.*

archbishop in the present respect; 'later writers have not agreed with them, and I think they are right. Dr. Lingard and I differ in opinion. The public will judge which of us is correct. Cranmer, I may add, in consequence of his own words having been not duly observed, and the groundless charge of Martin being regarded instead of them, has been grossly misrepresented by archbishop Laud, in his book against the Jesuit Fisher; where it is said, "Archbishop Cranmer confesses that he inclined to *the opinion of Zuinglius*, till bishop Ridley convinced his judgment and settled him in this point of the sacrament!" Till Ridley convinced him, there can be little doubt that he *believed*, as well as *taught*, the Romish doctrine. " And how zealous soever Cranmer might be for transubstantiation, and how dangerous soever it might be to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honestly communicated his discoveries and scruples to his good friend and patron the archbishop; who, knowing the sincerity of the man and his cool judgment, *gave a more open ear to him, than he had formerly done to Joachim Vadianus, and was prevailed upon to examine the doctrine with the utmost care. The event was the conviction of both*

' Gilpin, Life of Cranmer. Dr. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biography. Mr. Soames, Hist. of the Reformation.

* Abp. Laud against Fisher, ut supr. p. 193.

^b Ridley's Life of Bp. Ridley, 1763, p. 169.

of them. THIS WAS THE GREAT AND IMPORTANT POINT OF THE REFORMATION IN DOCTRINE."

VII. "¹ *The seventh charge.* The conduct of the archbishop, with respect to the statute of the six articles, has been highly eulogized by his admirers; who have described him as persisting in his opposition to the very last, and braving the displeasure of the king in the cause of humanity and truth. 1. It should, however, be considered, that his opposition was not entirely disinterested. The third of the articles declared that priests may not marry by the word of God: the statute itself pronounced such marriages of no effect; ordered the parties so married to be separated; made it felony, if they should cohabit afterwards; and subjected all persons in priest's orders, who lived carnally with women, to imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and to death on the second. Now, Cranmer was in priest's orders; he had married a relation of Osiander in Germany; he still cohabited with her at Canterbury; he had a family by her. Had he not, then, the strongest personal motives to oppose these severe and sanguinary enactments?"

He had; and we cannot but believe, that he opposed them with undaunted spirit as well as

¹ Dr. Lingard's Vindic. p. 87.

Christian argument, convincing his auditory, among whom was his royal master; that he rejoiced to exclaim with the Apostle, "Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed." In the disputation too, "k he behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God," that the king "*did not mislike his enterprise,*" and "*well liked his zealous defence.*" Henry knew that all he spoke was ^l sincere: he considered him as a man of probity, who had the courage to defend what he understood to be true; and of his arguments, "*which could not well be refuted,*" (to use the expression of Fox,) he required a copy. To the eloquence and ability of the archbishop on this occasion, the ^m applause of those, who differed from him in the debate, was also rendered. His opposition has been attributed by Romish writers, solely to the fact of his being married; but there were other of the Articles to which he could not assent, and especially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the Act. With the same resolution, when afterwards a conspiracy was formed against him at the ⁿ suggestion, it

^k Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1136, col. ii.

^l Lord Herbert, p. 448.

^m Strype, Life of Cranm. B. I. ch. xix.

ⁿ See Collier, vol. ii. p. 199.

has been thought, of Gardiner, and his obedience to the Act was questioned, he told the king *“ that he was still of the same opinion he had declared himself when the Bill was passing ; but that he had done nothing against the Act. The king then putting on an air of pleasantry, demanded whether his chamber would stand the test of the Articles ; and the archbishop replied, that he had sent his wife to her friends in Germany. The answer, without evasion or reserve, pleased the king ; who then told the archbishop, “ ^p that the severity of the Act was not levelled against him, and, at the same time, assured him of his future favour.”* Dr. Lingard, however, informs us, that, struck with dismay at the passing of the Act, “ ^q *the archbishop wrote to the king an apology for his presumption in having opposed the opinion of his majesty ;*” and presently, we shall see, “ *that he came over to the opinion of the head of the church !*” It is thus that another Romish writer relates, that Cranmer “ ^r *went all the lengths of the court in the Six Articles-Act,*” having just before said that “ he had taken a wife in Germany, and shewn his inclinations *by opposing this Act !*” Dr. Lingard further asserts, 2. “ ^s that it is not true that Cranmer’s oppo-

^o Collier, ii. 200.

^p Ibid.

^q Hist. of Eng. 2d ed. vol. vi. p. 386.

^r Eccl. Hist. by the writer assuming the name of Dod.

^s Vindic. p. 8.

sition was continued to the very last. It ceased on the second day. On the first the archbishop, and several other prelates, spoke with energy and resolution, but the next morning the house was honoured with the presence of Henry: the royal theologian supported the Articles with irresistible eloquence, and Cranmer came over to the opinion of the head of the church."

That Cranmer disputed against the Articles three days together, is the assertion of Fox, Lord Herbert, Burnet, and Collier. "' Nor could he be prevailed upon," Burnet adds, "though the king pressed him to it, to abstain from coming to the parliament while that Act was passing. *He came and opposed it to the last*; and even after the law was made, he wrote a book for the king's use against these Articles."

But that " " Cranmer came over to the opinion of the king, is proved," Dr. Lingard continues, "by the following letter, written at the time by one of the lords who was present.

"Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury, my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with godlie learning. York, Durham, Winchester, London,

¹ Hist. Ref. vol. iii. Appendix.

² Vindic. pp. 87, 88.

Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle, have shewed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion : and my lord chancellor and lord privy seal (Audeley and Cromwell,) as good as we can devise. My lord of Canterbury, and all his bishops have given their opinions, and have come in to us, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool. Cleop. E. v. p. 128.

“ On this letter Mr. Todd makes the following remarks. 1. ‘ Dr. Lingard has not noticed that this letter was copied from the manuscript by the accurate Strype, and printed by him in the appendix to his life of Cranmer.’ Had Mr. Todd compared the two copies, he might have spared this remark. Strype’s copy is very inaccurate: mine is correct, and taken, not from that of Strype, but from the original in the British Museum. I did not indeed preserve the orthography of the original, which I regret. The word *goodlie* is a typographical error for *godlie*.”

It is proper that what precedes the passage, which has been cited by Dr. Lingard from the fragment of an anonymous letter, should here be given. I will copy it, word for word, for the benefit of every reader, without regarding the often perplexing ancient spelling. “ And also news here: I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so well learned,

and so catholic, as the king hath done in this parliament. With my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness, which is come to such effect, that we shall have an act of parliament so spiritual, that I think none shall dare say in the blessed sacrament doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration; nor that a priest may have a wife; nor that it is necessary to receive our maker *sub utraque* specie; nor that private masses should not be used, as they have been; nor that it is not necessary to have auricular confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, &c." Then it follows, as Dr. Lingard has copied the words; who after reflecting upon the inaccuracy of Strype, and displaying the superfine minuteness of his own copying in converting the *goodly* in his History into *godly* here, leaves us to marvel at the achievement, shorn at least of one of its merits, since the original letter reads, "his Highness confounded them all [not with *goodlie*, or *godlie*, but] with *Goddess* (God's) *learning*!" And thus, indeed, Strype has printed it; yes, and ^x Burnet too. Dr. Lingard compliments "my eye as experienced in the detection of *verbal niceties*;" I thank him; and though I could point out another or two in the few lines so pompously

^x Hist. Ref. vol. iii. Records, No. 66, B. III. P. III.

^y See before, p. 76.

announced to the reader, the single cast is enough. It is of more importance to observe what the writer of the letter avers; namely, that there was at last an agreement of opinion in all the points he asserts, the bishop of Salisbury only resisting. Now one of these points is, *that auricular confession is necessary*; a tenet of great effect in upholding the tyranny of the church of Rome, and in subjugating the freedom of the human mind. Cranmer now seized the occasion to assert, *that auricular confession was not necessary by any precept of the Gospel*; in which assertion he was * supported by the king; and they were opposed by the archbishop of York and the bishops of Winchester and Durham. That the resolution of the house might * declare auricular confession to be *a command by Christ*, and a part of the sacrament of penance, was the object of Gardiner and his associates: but the debate produced no more than the simple declaration, that this

* Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. Addend. p. 369, and Rec. p. 366. ed. 1681.

* See Burnet, ut supr.—The Article was thus proposed: "*Utrum Auricularis Confessio sit necessaria de Jure Divino.*" Journ. H. of Lords, 1539. There is in the State-paper office, an answer in the negative to the question, *whether auricular confession be necessary by the law of God or not*, bearing the names of Cranmer and nine other prelates, and of the abbots of Westminster and Gloucester.

confession was expedient and necessary to be retained in the Church of God. Of the intended dogma the unknown writer of the letter before us takes no notice; but represents the king as confounding the prelates who sided with Cranmer, yet conceals, or was ignorant, that the opposing prelates of York, Winchester, and Durham, were defeated at least in one of *their* objects. Tunstal was vexed at this successful opposition, and afterwards wrote to the king, whose opinion, however, he could not change. “^b Since methought, my lord of Durham,” the king replied to him, “that both the bishops of York, Winchester, and your reasons and texts were so fully answered this other day in the house, as, to my seeming and supposal, *the most of the house was satisfied*; I marvelled not a little why eftsoons you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other texts or reasons than there were declared, *both by the bishop of Canterbury and me*, to make smally or nothing to your intended purpose, &c.” The whole letter, denying auricular confession to be of divine institution is too long to be copied. His majesty concludes it, “I pray you, blame not me, though I be not of your opinion; and I think

^b The king's Letter to Tunstall. Burnet, ut. sup. Rec. p. 866.

that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose." The reverse then of Cranmer's "*coming over*" to the Romish party, in this important article at least, is obvious. *They now came over to him and his sovereign.* Cranmer, soon after this memorable debate, confirmed the opinion he had urged with the following assertion; "that the Scripture speaketh not of penance, as we call it, a sacrament, consisting of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, *making no private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him.*"

2. Dr. Lingard next observes, that "the letter is only a fragment which is preserved: had he known the name of the writer, he should certainly have given it: and the omission must have announced to his readers, that the writer was unknown." This is said in answer to my remark, that he has suppressed the circumstance of the letter being "*without any name subscribed.*" My meaning was that he had suppressed this especial information, which Strype has given;

* Burnet and Collier. In 1540.

* Vindic. pp. 88, 89.

this belief, as it were, of how little value anonymous information is ; this parallel in the writer's "*news*" to what was then "*a flying report*" of the archbishop and all the bishops, except Salisbury, having "*come in*" to the views of the Romish party in the formation of the infamous Act.

3. Dr. Lingard proceeds to represent me as "*a sinking man catching at a straw*," because I have thought it possible that the letter may have been the exaggerated communication of any friend to the papal cause, as it seems to be, since it begins, *And also news here*. Let the reader peruse the letter once more, Dr. Lingard adds, and say whether it be possible to believe that the writer was not one of the temporal lords: "*We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion: my lord of Canterbury and all his bishops have given their opinions, and have come in to us.*" I still maintain, that though "*he writes* ^a *as one of the peers*," (to use the expression of Burnet,) it by no means follows that such the writer was. The fragment is of an equivocal cast in the circumstance after the words *an act of parliament*, where a space ^b appears to have been at first left, and the word *spiritual* subse-

^a Life of Cranm. B. i. ch. 19.

^f Vindic. p. 89.

^g Hist. Ref. vol. iii. Suppl. 1539.

^b Original, Brit. Mus. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 128. b.

quently inserted. But the writer of this fragment, Dr. Lingard says, was "*one of the lords present at the debate.*" If this could be proved, still he is not trust-worthy. He could not have said with truth, *if he had been present*, "that the king confounded them *all*;" for it is shewn by the king himself, that he and Cranmer were firmly and successfully united in one at least of the disputations against the party not favourable to the Reformation; nor could he have said with truth, *if he had been present*, that my lord of Canterbury and all the bishops, except Salisbury, had come in to the Romish side; for Canterbury both then and afterwards disdained to relinquish his opinions, and Worcester as well as Salisbury testified dissent, each in the resignation of their respective sees. I proceed to the remaining remarks of Dr. Lingard upon this letter-writer, whom I consider to be a warm reporter, indeed, of *news* favourable to his own party, but, of whatever rank, certainly not entitled to the praise of accuracy.

"4. The letter affirms what is not true, that the bishop of Salisbury alone persisted in refusing his assent; and that the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops who have been already named of his opinion, came in to the opposing party, when the bishop of Worcester, as well as the bishop of Salisbury, rather than conform, resigned his bishopric." These are

my words. Dr. Lingard asks, how do I prove this assertion? He answers for me himself: "*Because they both resigned their bishoprics.* That they resigned, is true; but then comes the important question, When did they resign? Had it been at the close of the debate, or even soon afterwards, that circumstance might have furnished a presumption in Mr. Todd's favour. But it appears, from the journals of the house of lords, that both prelates continued to sit and vote till the end of the session."

Now, the resignation of these prelates is formally recorded as having been admitted on the first of July; that is, about three weeks after the Bill of the Six Articles had been introduced into the house of lords, though not without some contest¹ subsequent to the debate upon the proposal of the Bill by the duke of Norfolk in May. They had then witnessed the zeal of their metropolitan; and still they hoped, perhaps, that other modifications than that relating to auricular confession might be the fruits of his resistance. They found it otherwise upon the first reading of the Bill on the 7th of June, and therefore would then determine to tender their resignations, still retaining their rank and privilege during *the few days* they con-

¹ Vindic. p. 89.

² Le Neve, Fast. Angl. pp. 260, 298, and Godwin.

³ Burnet, Hist. Ref. i. 258, ed. supr.

timued lords of parliament, and while the necessary instruments of resignation were prepared: Dr. Lingard^m affects not to know *exactly* for what reason they resigned. He has often cited, nor will he now (I am persuaded) disregard, the ancient testimonies of Godwin and Lord Herbert. The former says, “^m These laws, (of the Six Articles,) like those of Draco, were writtten in blood, were the destruction of multitudes, and *silenced those who had been hitherto furtherers of Reformation*; among whom Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton, bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, were remarkable; who, that they might quietly enjoy themselves, the parliament being scarce dissolved, did both on one day, the first of July, resign their bishoprics.” The latter relates, “^o that they resigned,

^m I say *affects*; for, in his History, Dr. Lingard tells us, that the French ambassador says, *both prelates refused their assent*; and he himself, that, “by the intemperance of their language having given offence, *they resigned spontaneously, or at the king's requisition, their respective sees.*” Hist. vi. 384. How are we to reconcile this with the letter-writer, whose fragment exhibits “*all the bishops save Salisbury submitting*;” and with Dr. Lingard's reliance upon him, nay, with going further than him, in the vindication of his history, (as we shall presently see,) by placing *Salisbury himself* too among the conformists?

^m Annals, Engl. ed. 1630, p. 172.

^o Hen. VIII. 449.

being unwilling, it seems, to have a hand in the approbation or execution of these laws."

Dr. Lingard next objects to the statement which I have adopted from Burnet. "The king desired Cranmer to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to the bill; but he humbly excused himself: for he thought he was in conscience bound to stay and vote against it."—"Of this protest and vote no trace can be discovered in the journals; nor do I admire," Dr. Lingard continues, "the judgment of the man who thus prefers the statement of a professed partisan, (Burnet,) made one hundred and fifty years afterwards, to that of *one who wrote at the very time, and was present at the debate.*" Regardless of the assumption (for proof there is none) that *this partial writer was present at the debate*, I will cite the narration of Fox, who lived at the time, and accordingly tells us, that "the king, well-liking Cranmer's defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council-chamber for a time, for safeguard of his conscience, till the act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, *with humble protestation refused to do.*" This, I admit, is not the parliamentary language for a vote and protest. But Collier

^p Vindic. p. 90.

^a Acts and Mon. 1136. col. ii.

seems to have understood the martyrologist's account in Burnet's sense of the occurrence. "The king would have had the archbishop quit the house, since he could not vote for the bill; but, after a decent excuse, he told the king *he thought himself bound in conscience to stay there, and shew his dissent.*"

"It has always appeared to me," Dr. Lingard further contends, "that the advocates of the archbishop confound the debate on the Articles with the passing of the Bill. On the 30th of May, after the recess, and it was before the recess that the great debate took place, at which the king attended, the lord chancellor informed the house, that by the conjoined labours of the king and the prelates unanimity had been effected. Thus at least I understand the words in the journal: *per dominum cancellarium declaratum est, quòd, cum non solùm procures spirituales, verùm etiam regia majestas, ad unionem in præcedentibus articulis multipliciter studuerunt et laboraverunt, ita ut nunc unio in eisdem confecta sit, regię igitur voluntatis esse ut pœnale aliquod statutum efficeretur.* This passage appears to me to shew that not only the archbishop, but all the bishops, even Salisbury himself, had *come in to the royal opinion.*"

I know not who the mistaken advocates are,

* Eccl. Hist. ii. 168.

* Vindic. pp. 90, 91.

to whom the Romish historian alludes. But I read that, after the lord chancellor on the 30th of May had moved to introduce the Bill, the lords ' appointed the archbishop, the bishops of Ely and St. David's, and Dr. Petre, a master in chancery, to draw one Bill; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, and Dr. Tregonwell, another master of chancery, to prepare another Bill. That which was drawn by the latter was adopted, as might be expected from the zeal of Gardiner, with whom the project of the infamous Articles had originated. But " still the matter was contested, still it hung in debate; for the Bill was not brought before the house before the 7th of June. What followed in regard to Cranmer's further dissent has been already related. And that " Salisbury himself came in to the royal opinion," as Dr. Lingard would make us believe, is of all other wonders in this business of the Six Articles the most wonderful. For he not only resigned, instead of consenting to them, but afterwards gloried in his resistance, predicting also their downfall, which Dr. Lingard seems not to have known; although, some years afterwards, he apostatized from the tenets which till then he had maintained; among which were " x his

' Burnet and Collier.

" Burnet and Collier.

x The true Copie of Shaxton's beliefe in the sacrament

dissent from all the Six Articles established, through the bishop's means, by the Act of Parliament, and solemnly read in all parish churches throughout the realm, every quarter of the year, once: which thing, though it be established with as much assurance as my brother my lord of Winchester's wit could devise, yet must it be destroyed, because it is of man, and not of God."

Yet once more as to Cranmer, in the business of the Six Articles. "Can Dr. Lingard call Cranmer a convert to a cause which he waited for the opportunity only again to oppose? Of these Articles the archbishop himself afterwards brought in a Bill to mitigate the penalties." Such have been my words. Dr. Lingard now replies to them, "'I called him a convert, because he had given his opinion, and *come in to the opposite party*."—We have seen upon what authority this assertion rests; the fragment of a letter with no name subscribed to it, unsupported in the assertion by any document or record, private or public; and the very reverse of the fact in which our legitimate history unites, I mean the firmness with which the archbishop opposed the Articles; and his determination against them, to the last moment of their parliamentary progress, in still remain-

before his recantation. Confut. of N. Shaxton, &c. 1546, sign. C. 5. b.

' Vindic. p. 91.

ing in the house, which he was desired by his sovereign to leave; and in still exclaiming for THE PROTESTANT CAUSE, against which the deadly blow was levelled, “ * IT IS THE CAUSE OF GOD, AND NOT OF MAN.” But Dr. Lingard now improves upon the letter-writer, and fortifies the narrative with a suspicion that the archbishop *came in* (not as this person, pretended to have been present, suggests, with his former *opinion* fairly subdued, but) *hypocritically*. “ * That he was a *sincere convert*,” the historian therefore pleads, “ I neither said nor thought. But does Mr. Todd really suppose, that to mitigate the penalties of dissent, is the same thing as to oppose the establishment of doctrine? The very bill of mitigation, which was supported, perhaps introduced, by the archbishop four years afterwards, left the doctrine of the Six Articles in full force and established by law.” It has been already abundantly shewn, that Cranmer *did oppose the establishment of the doctrine in question*. He baffled too the arguments of all who opposed him; and he would have been triumphant in his opposition, if the king had not been brought into the house by the persuasion, doubtless, of Gardiner and his party. These Articles, the archbishop after-

* See before, p. 85.

* Vindic. p. 91.

wards told the Devonshire rebels, “^b were so enforced by the evil counsel of certain papists against the truth, and *common judgment both of divines and lawyers*, that if the king’s majesty himself had not come personally into the parliament-house, *those laws had never passed*. And yet within a year, or little more, the same most noble prince was fain to ^c temper his said laws, and moderate them in divers points.” Cranmer, in defence of his opposition, is said to have expressed his hope, “^d that his majesty in process of time would revoke these laws again.” His freedom confirmed instead of ruining him in the king’s favour. “^e Here,” the martyrologist finely observes, “Here is to be noted, that this man’s stout and godly defence of the truth herein so bound the prince’s conscience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authority and power; and therefore this way God working in the prince’s mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said Six Articles, as it ought to have been; for else the prince might have had a just cause to have borne his indig-

^b Strype, Cranm. Rec. No. 40.

^c See also Strype, Life of Cranm. i. 19. “After some time, the king reformed in part the said Six Articles, and somewhat blunted the edge of them.”

^d Fox, Acts and Mon.

^e Ibid.

nation towards the archbishop. Let us pray, that both the like stoutness may be perceived in all learned and ecclesiastical men, where the truth ought to be defended; and also the like relenting and flexibility may take place in princes and noble men, when they shall have occasion offered to maintain the same, so that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by self-will, power, and authority."—A little onward we find the Romish party endeavouring to establish other articles hostile to the Reformation. Cranmer again made a noble, and now a successful, stand against bigotry. To the bishops of Rochester and Hereford, from whom he had expected support, he replied, on their dissuading him from his opposition, "'you make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the Articles in that sort you have devised them to proceed; and now that you do perceive his Highness *by sinister information to be bent that way*, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highness's mind.—Beware, I say, what you do. There is but one truth in our Articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his Highness by consenting unto a *contrary doctrine*, and then after, in process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his

Highness shall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Grace's nature so well, that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you." They disregarded, however, their friend and metropolitan. He persevered; and "God so wrought with the King, that his Highness joined with him against the rest; so that the book of Articles passing on his side, he won the goal from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in London, that he should have been laid up with Cromwell, at that time in the Tower.—After that day there could neither counsellor, bishop, or papist, win him out of the King's favour."—The interest of Cranmer being thus established, the prosecution upon the Six Articles began to slacken; and proceeding with his accustomed discretion, his careful attention to opportunity, he at length succeeded in procuring the public enactment, which mitigated the rigours of the bloody statute that had been formed by Gardiner and his associates; having pressed his arguments to this purpose, Collier fairly acknowledges, "that no honest and well-deserving subject might be obnoxious to such extremities *for acting with a good conscience.*"

▪ Fox, Acts and Mon. Strype. Soames.

▪ Collier, ii. 201.

▪ Ibid.

VIII. IX. X. " *Eighth, ninth, and tenth charges.* In the eighth and ninth sections of Mr. Todd's Vindication," Dr. Lingard says, "I see nothing that particularly demands notice: the tenth begins in the following manner. 'Among the many partialities of Dr. Lingard, none can be more revolting than his pretence, by way of contrast to the character of Cranmer, of an unpersecuting temper in Gardiner, and of a mild demeanour in Bonner.' Shall I escape the imputation of rudeness, if I say that the first part of this charge is ridiculous? In which of my pages is this wonderful contrast to be found? I have spoken, indeed, of Cranmer, and Gardiner, and Bonner. It was my duty to speak of them, as their actions passed in review before me. But I never brought them into comparison with each other, nor did the idea so much as suggest itself to my mind."

The first part of the charge would indeed be ridiculous, if the *partiality* of the historian could not be proved. As to a formal disquisition, by way of contrast, between Cranmer and either Gardiner or Bonner, I had no such meaning: I intended merely to designate the unfairness of the writer in his eagerness to condemn the great reformer, and in his zeal to acquit the reformer's opponents; in his apologies for what

* Vindic. p. 92.

is objectionable in the papist, in his scorn for what is favourable to the protestant; just as he presently opposes, with a sneer, the proceedings of Gardiner to those of "the *mild and charitable* Cranmer!" So, in his History, Gardiner forthwith is a persecutor "more from conjecture and prejudice, than from real information;" and Bonner not deserving perhaps "all the odium which has been heaped upon him." Both, it is alleged, have passed in review before the historian: let them again be inspected by other impartial observers.

"Of Bonner," Dr. Lingard proceeds, "I have said little: but that little was taken from Mr. Todd's favourite authority, Fox."

The historian was well aware, that the less he said of Bonner, the better. But where has Fox expressed a doubt of this prelate's guilt? Even Phillips, the Romish biographer of Pole, with the martyrologist in his eye, (I have observed,) impugns not the belief, "that Bonner was the chief incendiary of the flames in the time of Mary." Accordingly we find it related by other historians of that reign, that "no fewer than two hundred are reported to have

¹ Lingard, Hist. Eng. 2d ed. vii. 259.

² Ibid. 267.

³ Vindic. p. 92.

⁴ Life of Pole, ii. 216.

⁵ Heylin, Hist. Ref. reign of Mary, p. 56.

been burnt within three years by this cruel and unmerciful tyrant, (Bonner,) without discrimination of sex or age :—the most eminent of all which was Mr. John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, who, though of Gardiner's diocese was condemned by Bonner; *Gardiner being well enough contented to find out the game, and leave it to be followed by that bloody hunter;*" a circumstance which illustrates another remark of Dr. Lingard, that he could " ' find no proof that Bonner was a persecutor from choice, or went in search of victims: *they were sent to him by the council.*" But who was styled " ' publicus sanctorum malleus?" Bonner. Of whom was it said, " ' that a worse prelate over the city of London there could not come, except the same Lucifer that fell from heaven came himself?" Bonner. Of what person has archbishop Parker recorded, " ' nemo nequior aut impurior?" Bonner. By whom is this miserable being called " ' carnifex sanguinarius," and " martyromastix truculentus?" By bishop Godwin in his valuable treatise of English prelates, an authority which Dr. Lingard himself never disdains. I could

* Hist. Eng. 2d ed. vi. 267.

* Humphry's Life of Bp. Jewel, 1573, p. 82.

* Lamentacyon of a Christian against the Citty of London, &c. 1548. sign. C. i. b.

* Ant. Brit. 390.

* De Præs. Ang.

yet fill a page or two with references to the cruelties of this man, whom, it has been forcibly observed, "his nature seems to have designed for an executioner." I proceed to his colleague, Gardiner, whose proceedings also the Romish historian of England is not eager to communicate at large. "With respect to Gardiner," Dr. Lingard therefore observes, "I had so often seen the epithet *bloody* attached to his name, that I looked on him as a most cruel persecutor; and, having repeatedly seen the mild and charitable Cranmer sitting on the trial and pronouncing the condemnation of heretics in the reign of Edward, I expected to find the bloody Gardiner daily employed in similar atrocities during that of Mary. It, therefore, excited my surprise, when I could discover but one instance in which he had taken part in any such proceedings, and that was on the first prosecution after the revival of the statutes, when it was expected that he, as the chief law magistrate, should attend. On this account I ventured to remark, that the charge against the chancellor was not supported by any authentic document, and was weakened by the general tenor of his conduct. The remark has astonished the prejudices of Mr. Todd: my

* Granger, Biogr. Hist. Eng.

† Vindic. p. 92.

readers, I trust, will think, that, with a due regard to truth, I could not have said less."

They must think, that, with a due regard to truth, the historian ought to have said more. It is the business, as it is the excellence, of history, to relate not only truth, but the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Where the general tenor too of a distinguished statesman's conduct is the theme, what can be more imperative? What must have been *his* conduct, of whom Henry ^a expressed his utter abhorrence, and could not ^a endure the sight; whom he refused to name in his will, saying to those around him, " ^b Gardiner would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature!" But Dr. Lingard now presents him to us only in the reign of Mary, and employed in only one atrocity. At this time, however, he was distinguished by the title of " ^c cut-throat Gardiner;" and if it be objected that this is the scornful phrase only of an obscure writer, the severer coeval testimony of Ridley is at hand, who writes, that ^d avarice and cruelty were Gardiner's characteristics. Is the relation of bishop Godwin too, that Gardiner

^a Fox, Acts and Mon.

^b Ibid. Abp. Parker, 397.

^c Fox.

^d Wood Transl. of Gardiner's De Ver. Obed. 1553, sign. A. iii.

^e Ridl. de Coena Dom. Assertio, 1556, p. 6.

brought many to the stake, to be overpassed?
 “• Pro odio quo veram religionem prosequutus
 est capitali, *multos bonos viros flammis tradidit
 absumendos.*” From another unexceptionable
 writer also, Sir John Harington, I repeat, that
 “‘ Gardiner and his fellows did condemn to
 the fire a number of poor harmless souls, that
 professed to believe as they were taught but
 three years before, (that is, before the accession
 of Mary;) which great extremity was part the
 cause of stirring up of Wyatt’s rising, for which
 many Protestants were troubled; among others,
 my father was committed to the Tower.” Dr.
 Lingard, however, cites a note from Father Per-
 sons, as corroborative of his opinion, inasmuch
 as it represents Gardiner “a^s most mild and
 tender-hearted man;” and to me who cannot
 rely upon the testimony of the Jesuit, the his-
 torian replies, “It is not by abusing this
 writer, that Mr. Todd must expect to put down
 this testimony. Let him, if he can, produce
 some instance that contradicts it.” Strype, let
 me first observe, cites the words of the Jesuit
 as Dr. Lingard has cited them; and he very
 justly premises, “^h Indeed it is strange to ob-

^e De Præs. Ang.

^f MS. See my Vindic. of Cranmer, 8vo. ed. p. xciii.
 12mo. p. 106.

^g Vindic. p. 93.

^h Eccl. Mem. iii. 281.

serve the brazen foreheads of the popish writers concerning this man (Gardiner). Notwithstanding he was so notoriously known to be the great instrument of burning and destroying so many Protestants, *yet they represent him as a mild and merciful man!*" Strype then copies *the testimony* in question, and adds, "Mark the marvellous confidence of the man in endeavouring to *face out a thing*, the contrary to which was most notoriously known and severely felt." But Dr. Lingard asks me for some particular instance that contradicts the Jesuit.

If I ¹ had not produced the striking instance of Sir John Harington's father, once the friend of this very prelate by whom he was severely persecuted; if I could not ² refer to the same indisputable authority for the notices of Gardiner's great and inexcusable cruelty towards Cranmer and Ridley, of the plots he laid to entrap the lady Elizabeth, and of his merciless usage of all her followers; and these too all in the reign of Mary, when Dr. Lingard reduces his guilt to a single atrocity; if with these circumstances, of which, Sir John Harington indignantly adds, "¹ he yet (in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign) could scarce think with cha-

¹ See the preceding note, f.

² His Catalogue of Eng. Bishops. Nug. Ant. ii. 67.

¹ Ibid.

rity, nor write with patience;" if with these
 circumstances, I say, I could not have contra-
 dicted the present historian of England, I would
 have once more gone back to the stain upon
 our national history, the barbarous statute of
 the Six Articles, infixed principally by means
 of this pretended man of compassion, whom the
 Jesuit Persons and Dr. Lingard vainly aim to ex-
 onerate from the charge of blood-guiltiness. Upon
 the Jesuit I have bestowed, indeed, the notice
 that he dishonourably left his own country, and
 became a Romanist; and I have stated " that
 he was a slanderer of Cranmer, as well as a
 " traitor and apostate. Can Dr. Lingard dis-
 prove this? Let us hear the character of Per-
 sons, pronounced by a writer of his own
 communion. " His whole life was a series of
 machinations against the sovereignty of his
 country, the succession of its crown, and the

" Vindic. of Cranm. 8vo. xcii. 12mo. 105.

" Ibid. See also A. Wood, Ath. Ox. Where the learning
 of Persons is indeed proclaimed, and his treasonous practices
 are not concealed. Sometimes he was a soldier, then a private
 gentleman, at other times as an apparitor, or as a minister of
 the reformed church, in order to promote the Romish cause.
 Hence a coeval writer says of him, " After he had *cabalier-like*
 ranged up and down this kingdom, for fear of Tyburn he
 voided the kingdom." Sheldon, Mir. of Antichrist, 1616,
 p. 25. He fled when Campian was seized.

* Memoirs of Panzani, by the Rev. Jos. Berrington, Introd.
 pp. 26, 28.

interests of the secular clergy of his own faith. —His writings, which were numerous, are an exact transcript of his mind, dark, imposing, problematical, seditious." Of his contempt of veracity, in relating the famous challenge of Jewell to the papists, and of Harding's answer to it, a remarkable instance is given, and the inference of caution against all his assertions thence rightly drawn, in the learned translator's ^p preface to Mason's *Vindication of the Church of England*. But to bear out Father Persons in his laudatory description of Gardiner, Roger Ascham, " ^a that sound orthodox protestant preceptor to queen Elizabeth," is coupled with him, because Gardiner had befriended him, and paid the proper tribute to a man of his extraordinary learning and virtues. But Johnson, in his *Life of Ascham*, says, that though he always made open profession of the reformed religion in the time of Mary, suspicions and charges of temporization and compliance had somewhat sullied his reputation. However, why he was spared, and why he was favoured, cannot now be discovered. Many, however, must be the examples of kindness to redeem "the general tenor of Gardiner's conduct;" a man who could join levity and insult to his cruelty;

^p Rev. J. Lindsay, *Vind.* Pref. p. xli.

^a Dr. Lingard's *Vind.* p. 94.

who, finding the work of ' striking terror into the reformers daily multiplying upon him, devolved the office principally upon Bonner, and then, with a shew of forbearance, " " would rate his deputy" for his proceedings, " ' and call him *Ass* for using poor men so bloodily;" and who to the martyr Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, desiring to see his wife before he died, could sarcastically reply, " that he was a priest, and therefore could not possibly have a wife!

XI. " " *In the eleventh charge we are directed,*" Dr. Lingard observes, " to¹ that passage in my history of Mary, in which I have brought to light the persecuting provisions of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, the new code of canon law devised by the archbishop, in the reign of Edward, for the government of the reformed church of England. It was certainly an awkward discovery: and when I consider the pain with which Mr. Todd seems to have perused it, I can readily excuse the remarks which it has drawn from his pen. Whether these remarks have done him honour in the estimation of his readers, I am ignorant: to me it is sufficient, that he dare not deny the accuracy of my statement. I ask no more."

¹ Hume.

² Sir J. Harrington.

³ Sir J. Harrington.

⁴ Fox. Hume.

⁵ Vindic. p. 94.

What the historian asks, as well as gives, shall receive due attention.

He has *brought to light*, he tells us, the persecuting provisions of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*; as if these laws had never been brought before the public by Fox the martyrologist, under the sanction of archbishop Parker, in 1571; and as if in the following century they had not again issued from the press; as if the historian of our Reformed Church, as well as Collier, had not detailed, and ' minutely too, the provisions of this intended code! Thus much for Dr. Lingard's "*awkward discovery*;" or, may I say without rudeness, his *awkward statement*? That there are parts of the code, which cannot be read without pain, is undeniable: these are they which were adopted from the Church of Rome, in enacting, or rather proposing to enact, the punishment of death against heretics. " " An idea of this compilation," Dr. Lingard tells us, " had been entertained under Henry: *it was reduced to practice under Edward*." Now, the compilation was actually formed under Henry, though it received not his confirmation; and was revised under Edward, but again failed of the royal sanction, in consequence of the sove-

' Hist. Ref. vol. ii. and Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. In both detailed through several pages.

. Hist. of Eng. 2d ed. vii. 127.

reign's death. This code of laws was therefore never of authoritative force. Of losing any honour in the estimation of impartial readers by what I have said, and am saying, of this intended code, I have not the smallest fear. Such readers will with me at once discern the object of Dr. Lingard's *awkward statement*: that it is to place upon the same level cases of persecution which were rare, and cases almost * numberless; to represent "b the power of the sword, *by the accession of Mary*, merely passing from the hands of one religious party to those of the other;" to palliate the deep atrocities, when, by her majesty and her associates, "c it was deemed advisable to revive the statutes which had formerly been enacted to suppress the doctrines of the lollards," a *revival*, to use the expression of Dr. Lingard, which has thus called forth the indignant eloquence of Hume: "d It was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled

* I may refer to the account of sufferers whom the Marian persecution committed to the flames, and tortured with other acts of cruelty, in Strype's Eccl. Mem. iii. 281. Hume has collected the substance of much more which has been written upon this melancholy subject. Heylin says, that though many persecutions have lasted longer, yet none since Dioclesian's time ever raged so terribly. Hist. Ref. reign of Mary, p. 57.

b Dr. Lingard's Hist of Eng. 2d ed. vii. 258.

c Ibid. vii. 260.

d Hist. of Eng. reign of Mary.

with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the (Roman) Catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion." I may not quit this melancholy subject without stating, that Sanders, or rather Rishton, the "infamous editor of his malignant book, apparently rejoices in *the revival of the old laws*, and boasts that some hundreds of the false teachers, (he means persons in general of the reformed church,) after he has recorded the martyrdom of their leader Cranmer, were burnt. "Legibus enim antiquis de puniendis hæreticis, *iterum zelo principe Christiano dignissimo renovatis*, non solum ille sed et aliquot pseudoprophetarum centuriæ sunt sublatae." The first edition of Sanders is without this pious remark.

XII. "The *twelfth and last charge* demands a few preliminary observations," Dr. Lingard proceeds. "Soon after the death of the archbishop, a book was published in London with this title: 'All the submyssions and recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late archebyshope of Canterbury, truly set forth in Latyn and English, agreeable to the originalles wrytten and subscribed with his own hand: Visum et exami-

* Wood gives his character from Camden, Ath. Ox.

De Schism. Angl. ed. 1586, p. 332.

† Vindic. p. 95.

natum per reverendum patrem et dominum, Edmundum, Episcopum London. Anno MDLVI. Excusum Lond. in Ædibus J. Cawodi, Typogr. Regiæ Majest. cum privilegio.'

" 1. This book contains the submissions and recantations written and subscribed with the hand of the archbishop. In number they amount to *seven*. This, I trust, is a sufficient answer to the remark of Mr. Todd, that *to the six instruments of the archbishop's abjuration, published by Bonner, Dr. Lingard has for the first time in the page of his history mistakenly added a seventh.*"

Dr. Lingard must pardon my not accepting what he offers as a sufficient answer. He presently insists upon the number *seven* as rightly belonging to the recantations, and gives reasons for his assertion. The proper place to shew that I am inefficiently opposed, is there.

" 2. In Mary's reign, as well as the reigns of her successors," Dr. Lingard continues, " no work touching on theological matters could be lawfully published, without the previous examination and licence of the archbishop, or of the bishop of London. This tract bears in the title-page, *the licence of Bonner*. By most writers it has on that account been considered as his work and publication: but most certainly the ground of their opinion suggests the contrary. Had he been the author, it would not have stood in need of his licence."

Dr. Lingard forgets that there was a royal proclamation in the reign of Edward, of which I know not that there was any alteration in the time of Mary, that “^b both printing, and selling, *any matters in the English tongue*, was prohibited, unless the same matter were first allowed by the king’s majesty, or six of his privy council.” So that the tract would still have stood in need of the licence attested by himself or some other privy counsellor, (no work by persons of that distinction being excluded,) notwithstanding Bonner himself was the author or framer of the publication. The style of the sixth and last submission induces Strype to suppose, that it was drawn up by Pole, who drew up a similar one for Sir John Cheke. The concluding declaration in the tract, no doubt, is Bonner’s. It is of the character belonging to him. For, among his nefarious practices, he was known before (and was reminded of the barbarity) to have falsified the dying words of a victim. “^c You may sit upon life and death,” says the indignant writer to him, “and be both accuser and judge, &c. as you did now of late for Richard Mekyns, a poor sim-

^b Strype’s Life of Cranmer, App. No. 62.

^c Yet a Course at the Romish Fox, supposed to be written by Bale, under the name of Harrison, 1543. Zurich, fol. 24, a, b.

ple lad of seventeen years of age; and give him a bill of wrong articles in his hand to read, when he cometh to the fire, to shadow-with your mischief."

"3. ^k It (the tract) was published by Cawood," Dr. Lingard continues, "cum privilegio, that is, with a patent securing to him the copyright. Now it appears to me, that this single circumstance will furnish a more probable explanation of the two entries in the council book of 13th and 16th of March, than has yet been given. The first is an order that Rydall and Copland should give up the printed copies of Cranmer's recantation to be burnt: the second, a recognizance by the same printers, that they 'will deliver to Mr. Cawood all such books as they of late printed, concerning Cranmer's recantation, to be by the said Cawood burnt.' By the dates, it appears that these orders refer to the recantation of doctrinal errors made on the 25th of February. But at that time, as appears from the letter of the French ambassador, he was expected to make another recantation of erroneous conduct; and this he accordingly did make on the eighteenth of March. Hence, as the book of Rydall and Copland was evidently imperfect, we may conclude that it was published without licence, which would subject it

^k Vindic. p. 96.

to seizure ; and as it was moreover an infringement of Cawood's copyright, the reason appears why the books were delivered to Cawood himself to be destroyed."

Of the recantation which Fox has printed, to which there is no date, nor is there any in Bonner's tract, although Dr. Lingard dates it on the 25th of February, the day after the royal writ for burning the archbishop had been issued ; of this recantation, I say, let us first observe what Fox has written ¹. "*This recantation of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands.* Whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thom. Cranmer, with a solemn subscription ; then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John De Villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in no certain assurance of his life, *although the same was faithfully promised him by the doctors.* But, after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly ; but of her purpose to put him to death

¹ Acts and Mon.

she would nothing relent."—Now, the zeal of the prelates and doctors in causing Rydall and Copland to print the former of these submissions, was a measure certainly not in unison with the designs either of Bonner or of Pole. " " The privy council were *concerned*, when they heard that Cranmer's paper of recantation was printed ;" not because " " it was *incorrectly printed*, or that they waited for that which God would inspire him to make," as Dr. Lingard from the French ambassador pretends, but that other papers than this, which exhibited him merely as a Romish convert, might be added, in order that he should be reduced to all the degradation that malice had in view. The collection (as it is printed) was concealed till the privy council were no longer *concerned*, or embarrassed. It satisfied them ; and then by Bonner, with the licence of *seen* and *examined*, it was committed to the press of Cawood, the royal printer, who was the printer also of Bonner's own publications ; *the simple declaration* having been destroyed, that such a paper, by itself, might be deprived of effect in the estimation of the public ; in a word, that indignation might not be excited by it at the perfidy, as well as cruelty, resolved against him, since even Cole,

" Burnet, Hist. Ref. iii. 179.

" Hist. of Eng. 2d. ed. vol. vii. p. 276.

the preacher at the burning, admitted that “° pardon and reconciliation was due to him *according to the canons*, seeing he repented him of his errors;” he means, his conversion to the Romish tenets, as this single paper expressly announced.

Of the authenticity of the fifth and sixth confessions “° there can be no doubt,” Dr. Lingard says: “One is given by Fox: the other is mentioned by the French ambassador to his court, as *une confession publique, et amende honorable et volontaire*. Indeed they are not disputed by the friends of the archbishop, who confine themselves to the denial of the *seventh*, a matter of small consequence as far as regards the conduct of Cranmer; but considered by them of importance, as it furnishes them with a plausible cause of invective against Bonner.”

Fox has certainly given what is called in Bonner’s tract the fifth recantation; and it is the only one which the martyrologist has given: He is evidently of opinion that it was “° conceived,” or drawn up, for him. The evidence of the French ambassador is the report of the day, and refers to what is named the sixth recantation, which is thought to have been

° The heads of the sermon are printed by Fox, Acts and Mon.
° Vindic. p. 97.

¹ See before, p. 121.

* constructed by Pole; to which the name of Cranmer is subscribed, but which, unlike the former, exhibits no subscribing witnesses. The friends of the archbishop have not indeed denied, and do not deny, that he recanted; but they have all along * questioned the extent to which his enemies have carried his recantation. Nor have they confined themselves to a denial of the pretended seventh; although they have not overpassed the occasion of noticing, in this part of the tract, the shameless effrontery of Bonner, who could publish the very contrary to what Cranmer at his last hour professed, as though it had been what he approved and pronounced. This passage is entitled, “*The prayer and sayinge of Thomas Cranmer, a little before his death, all written with his owne hande.*” The tract here pretends no recantation. “The true cōpye of the fyrste, the second, the third, the fourth, a fyfte, and a syxte submission,” as they are all respectively numbered, would have proceeded with the numeration, if the prayer, &c. could have been supported with the title in question. In vain. This concluding part of the

* See before, p. 119.

* See Fox's Acts and Mon. Strype's Life of Cranm. and his Eccl. Mem. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Gilpin's Life of Cranm. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biography, Southey's Book of the Church, &c.

tract has neither the attestation of Cranmer nor of any witness; yet Dr. Lingard affirms, that there cannot be a doubt that Cranmer *did subscribe this confession*. Why then, as it is affixed to each of the preceding recantations, should his name have not been joined to this conclusion? Because the material part of it was only “*what he was to have spoken*, (and what the papists gave out in a print, *falsely*, he did speak;) when what he spoke indeed, the very reverse of the forgery, was notoriously known to hundreds of persons present.”

“*But a few moments of cool inquiry will shew*,” Dr. Lingard adds, “*that the publisher, whoever he was, committed no forgery; that he inserted in his book nothing but what was true; and that this fabrication, as it is termed, forms in reality, what I have called it, a seventh recantation.*”

Romish indignation has also in former days not spared the archbishop in numbering his faults of this description; in aggravating circumstances so as to accumulate dishonour on his name. Thus, with all the exaggeration of Falstaff in his loftier mood, Sanders insists that Cranmer *seventeen* times subscribed to retracta-

^t Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 237.

^u Vindic. p. 97.

tions. Dr. Lingard indeed descends to the knight's more temperate but positive assertion, "*Seven*, by these hilts!" And how is this maintained? " * The book, it should be recollected," Dr. Lingard contends, "professes to contain, not the speech which the archbishop made in the church before his death." True: it *professes* no such thing; yet it actually contains much of what the archbishop did speak in the church, (for Bonner would not fail to possess himself of the paper really produced by Cranmer,) and then the fabrication proceeds to unfold itself in a direction for him to declare the queen's just title to the crown, which he did not declare, and to pretend a public recantation, which he did not make. The tract professes, then, to contain, according to Dr. Lingard, merely "the submissions and recantations which Cranmer wrote and subscribed. Did he then write and subscribe this seventh recantation? Of that, there cannot be a doubt. 'Then,' says Fox, 'because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to the archbishop the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles which Cranmer should openly profess in

* Vindic. p. 98.

his recantation before the people; earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with his own hand, and sign it with his name, *which when he had done*, the said friar desired he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, *and that he did also.* If then, Cranmer actually wrote and subscribed this recantation; where can be the forgery in publishing it as such with his other recantations?"

If, indeed, as Dr. Lingard states it, *if* the archbishop really *subscribed his name* to this pretended seventh recantation, would it not have been (I repeat) exultingly printed, like the rest, with *Thomas Cranmer* at the close? Would not the Spanish friar have declared, that to *the whole of the words*, as they are printed in Bonner's tract, Cranmer had, *in his presence*, given a *written* consent? Would not all this have been *produced*, to add formally upon the primate's memory yet one more stain? Instead of this, we have only the pretence of it; the last, but the deepest, of the several suspicious circumstances attending Bonner's publication.

The fifth paper, which is that in Fox, is the only recantation to which historians⁷ formerly drew the attention of their readers. It is cer-

⁷ See Biograph. Brit. Art. CRANMER.

tainly the most complete, as a profession of doctrine, and was probably the last that was genuine. Collier seems to have been of this opinion, and writes, that “^a on the day of the execution Dr. Cole, to whom the queen had sent private instructions to prepare a sermon for the occasion, made a second visit to the archbishop; and that soon after, the Spanish friar, who was a witness to his recantation, proposed the reading his recantation to a public audience, and to this purpose, desired him to subscribe the instrument with his own hand and sign it.” Of any new submission on the fatal morning this historian seems to have entertained no belief. Burnet is alike silent. Thus too the Romish biographer of Pole, with the printed submissions of the archbishop at his service, speaks apparently of none but that which is numbered the fifth by Bonner, and is recorded by Fox. After noticing the writ for the execution, ^a Cranmer,” he says, “*had again renewed his subscription*, and transcribed a fair copy of the whole; but, having some misgivings of his approaching punishment, he secretly wrote another declaration, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before signed; and carried

^a Eccl. Hist. ii. 391.

^a Life of Pole.

it about with him." Of the sixth paper, in which the archbishop is represented confessing himself the most contemptible of men, a blasphemer, and a persecutor, as a murderer of souls, yet trusting that he should still be as the penitent thief upon the cross, Phillips says nothing: he had probably seen the ^b conjecture of Strype, who assigns the composition of the paper to Pole, and could not deny it. The coarseness of expressions in it is much in the cardinal's manner; and in the letters which he wrote to the archbishop, after his trial, several sentiments according with parts of this submission will be found. The sermon too, which Cole delivered at the execution, is in concert, it should seem, with the present paper; noticing, among other resemblances, the allusion (which in the discourse as well as in the paper is *repeated*) to the thief upon the cross.

Now "the prayer" of the archbishop at his last hour, there can be no doubt, was his own. If other previous circumstances had not led him to expect that he was to suffer, the ambiguous conversation of Cole with him on the day preceding the martyrdom would have suggested it. His prayer, therefore, we may be certain,

^b See before, p. 119.

was prepared; prepared with caution, and afterwards delivered with firmness. The Romanist, who witnessed the self-possession as well as the devotion of the martyr, has given us the words which Cranmer spoke, which confirm what I have stated as to the prayer, and which are not in Bonner's tract: "And now I will pray for myself," said the archbishop, "*as I could best devise for mine own comfort*, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it." He continued his affecting oration, without attending to the direction given in Bonner's tract, "to declare the queen's just title to the crowne," till he came to the declaration of his faith as I have stated it in my vindication of him, and to the revocation of whatever he had subscribed. The publication by Bonner closes, as I have observed, with what himself, by means of the Spanish friar, and perhaps of Cole and others, would have put into the martyr's mouth; that is, the brief acknowledgment in public of what he had signed in private, the admission of his signature to *that especial instrument* to which the friar had been a witness, (and there is no other than the fifth submission so attested;) the acknowledgment being an epitome indeed,

* See Strype's *Cranm.* B. iii. ch. 21.

and nothing further, of this very recantation. But the acknowledgment before the world was sought in vain.

Dr. Lingard thus continues: “^d The principal objection which Mr. Todd brings against me under this head, is, that I have not noticed ‘the subtlety with which the fortitude of the archbishop had been assailed; the promise that his life should be spared; and the suggestion that he might live many years, and yet enjoy dignity, or ease, or both.’ It is evident that Mr. Todd has overlooked the note in p. 278 of my seventh volume, in which I both mention these rumours, and refute them.”

The refutation, as it is called, is thus repeated.

“Had such a promise been made, the archbishop would have mentioned it, when he revoked his recantations in his last speech: on the contrary, he attributed the recantations, not to any promise given, but to the hope cherished by himself, that, by making them, he should obtain mercy. ‘I renounce and refuse them,’ says he, ‘as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart; and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be.’ From these words it is evident, that he had received no promise.”

^d Vindic. p. 98.

So Dr. Lingard says : Let us hear what others have said upon this point. Fox details through several pages “^e the flattering and promising and other means,” not forgetting the treatment “at the house of the ‘ dean of Christ Church,” in order to elicit the recantation. Dr. Laurence Humphrey, the learned president of Magdalen College, another contemporary, tells us also of “allurement practised, and of promises made, to complete the fall of the primate. Archbishop Parker, Heylin, Burnet, and other writers of distinction, entertain no doubt of the arts employed on this occasion. The temptations indeed were first displayed at his trial : “^h As for the loss of your estimation,” said the bishop of Gloucester, “it is ten to one that where you were archbishop of Canterbury, it is ten to one, I say, *that you shall be as well still, yea, and rather better.* And as for the winning of good men, there is no

^e Acts and Mon. See also before, p. 122.

^f Dr. Marshall, a severe zealot for the Romish cause in the time of Mary ; who, it appears, was also employed to seduce, in his younger days, our celebrated bishop Jewell, into the Romish Church. See Dr. Humphry’s Life of Jewell, 1573, p. 81. Marshall’s tyrannous and miserable character is related both there, and by A. Wood, Fast. Oxon.

^g “*Suasus falsorum fratrum inductus, (speaking of Cranmer,) blandis promissis illectus, &c. articulis quibusdam papisticis subscripsit.*” Life of Jewell, ut supr. p. 85.

^h Fox, Acts and Mon.

doubt but all that be here present, and the whole congregation of Christ's church also, will more rejoice *at your return*, than they were sorry for your fall. *And as for the other, you need not to doubt; for they shall come after.*" Cole too, in the sermon at the burning, declared, "¹ *what travel and conference had been used to convert him, and all prevailed not*, till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him;" he means, till their object of seduction was accomplished. And thus "² it pleased God to permit Cranmer to fall for a time, *that the papists might publish their own breach of faith as a monument of their disgrace for ever.*" Who wonders, then, at the pertinacity with which the promises made to the archbishop are denied by a Romish historian, merely because the prelate said that his recantations were written for fear of death, and to save his life, if it might be: as if no pains had been taken to overcome his constancy, as if the Spanish friar had not pestered him with persuasions, as if Bonner had not interfered in at least ¹ two of his

¹ Fox. Strype.

² Ridley's Review of Phillips's Life of Pole.

¹ The third and fourth, which are stated to be subscribed in prison before Bonner, who, but two days before the date of the fourth, had insulted the Archbishop with the most malicious mockery. Dr. Lingard overpasses this circumstance; but elsewhere he represents Gardiner as contending, that "*to talk to him in prison of subscriptions was unfair.*" Hist. of Eng. 2d ed. vii. 86.

brief submissions, as if Pole was unconcerned in the treachery ; in a word, as if the recantations would have ever been made, had not a promise of mercy been given which was broken, and had not subtlety been employed which was successful. “ = Human weakness is not the only lesson which this event has taught us, but is also a detestable instance of popish perfidy. They promised him life and honour as the reward of his retracting ; he complied, and they burned him. The merciful queen forgave him all injuries done to herself, but his heresy she could not pardon : he retracted his heresy, as she called it, and yet she burned him.”

I have thus replied to Dr. Lingard's notices of the twelve charges which I have advanced against him. I have considered them fairly, and, I trust, satisfactorily. If an angry expression now, or in my former vindication of the archbishop, has escaped me, I am sorry. I entertain no personal disrespect for Dr. Lingard. Nor am I aware that I have expressed myself in any unbecoming manner, when I have opposed a partial statement or quotation, an evasion or an untruth, artfully clothed with the captivating exterior of much excellent writing and great apparent candour.

Dr. Lingard has been pleased to designate

= Ridley, ut supr.

me as a "literary Nimrod." I am content. The honours of a literary chase I have long, though indifferently mounted, kept in view. From what is recorded of our Reformers, when any of their skilful adversaries, as Gardiner, were "to be traced like a fox," I imbibed in earlier life this love of "hunting." Nor am I yet too old occasionally to join in the pursuit, when, as in former days, the awakening shout may be, "*Yet a Course at the Romish Fox.*" Finally, Dr. Lingard says, "Mr. Todd, and I say it with confidence, has produced nothing to impeach, *in any material degree*, the correctness of my references, or the veracity of my statements." Of this the reader will judge by the preceding pages. How far the historian will justify the exhibition of himself, caught, not in one of my "gossamer nets," but in his 'own toils, and thus opposed to the vaunt with which he con-

^a Vindic. p. 100.

^b It was said of Gardiner, that he was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew backward, &c.—Lloyd's State-Worthies.

^c "The hunting or finding out the Romish fox, &c. 1542. The second course of the hunter, &c." There were other controversial books at the beginning of the Reformation with similar titles.

^d By Bale, 1543. See before, p. 120.

^e Vindic. p. 99.

^f Ibid. p. 100.

^g See before, p. 20.



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